

THE SALISH SXWAINWE
IN HISTORIC SALISH SOCIETY

by

LUCIE MARIE-MAI DUFRESNE

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ABSTRACT

The Sxwaixwe, a mask and cleansing rite of the Salish Indians of the Southern Northwest Coast, seems to have been in continuous production and use since the late 1700's. It has shown both consistency of underlying form and increased complexity and ambiguity of surface decoration probably resulting from an expansion of its use and the effects of contact with other cultural groups. An inherited and restricted family privilege, it continues to necessitate inter-kin group and gender co-operation for its production and use, thus serving to raise the owning group's status relative to non-owning groups and acting as an emergent crest for this group without affecting gender equality within the owning group. The proliferation of mask types, extension of the Sxwaixwe image to non-mask artifacts, and its expanding geographical distribution may be symptomatic of this developing group ranking.

The examination of the Sxwaixwe according to Salish cultural patterns of ancestral benefactor, supernatural being, healer/transformer, male/female mediator, and bestower of wealth, worth, and ethnic identity demonstrates how its production and use is a means of manipulation and defining power, be it spiritual, political, economic or social.

This examination of the Salish Sxwaixwe complex is based on an extensive inventory of museum collections, photographic and text archives, and an in depth analysis of the available written records. A typology of Sxwaixwe forms is included as well as an inventory of known Sxwaixwe objects and photographs.

A - INTRODUCTION

"Anything big you do, you get the Sxwaixwe" (Duff 1952b:26).

"This...like all Northwest Coast art forms, is rooted in two complementary elements of Northwest Coast culture: it fulfills a social function and reveals a meaning. To understand it...it is necessary to consider three intimately related components: context, form, and content. These are the essentials of all art forms, if we consider art, like other natural and human activities, to be based on a system. The aesthetic standard of any art work depends on its context, form, and content combining to form an ordered, consistent whole" (Reid 1987:208).

When Europeans first arrived on the Northwest Coast, they were struck by the richness of the land and sea and the impressive ceremonial life of the Natives who inhabited the region. Wood carvings, from small combs to monumental poles displayed both secular and religious iconography. They also found a bewildering variety of masks, dance costumes, ritual paraphernalia, canoes, textiles, basketry, everyday tools and containers, most decorated and many serving to display crests and enhance the owners' prestige.

In contrast to more northern groups, the Salish seemed to these first Europeans, to have very little in the way of 'art': some fine basketry, but little else. Few artifacts were collected, little was written, and, until recently, research interest was focused elsewhere. What has been written on Salish aesthetics and iconography (Bierwert 1981, 1987; Calkins 1977; Feder 1983; Kew 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1981; Suttles 1982, 1983; Wingert 1949a/1969, 1949b) has shown just

how particular to the Salish, and how different from their neighbours, their art is. Yet most analytical work has been of a preliminary nature hampered by the paucity of museum collections, ethnographic accounts, and the dwindling number of informants with personal knowledge of the production and use of Salish artifacts. Few aboriginal items have remained in use and fewer still continue to be manufactured (Kew 1981:11).

An exception is the Sxwaixwe (A1), an inherited privilege which consists of a cleansing rite with accompanying mask, dance costume, performance and origin myth. Sxwaixwe masks, the only masks that most Salish groups have used, are particular to them and quite distinctive of form with their peg eyes, pendulous tongue, and impressive mask assemblage. As far as we know, these masks have been in recorded use for over 160 years and may actually have been developed in the last years of the 18th century (Duff 1952b:123, 125). By the mid-1800's, the Sxwaixwe was in recorded use by most of the Vancouver Island, Fraser Delta and Fraser River Salish, upriver to approximately Yale, B.C. as well as having been adopted by the Kwakiutl as the Kwekwe mask of their winter dance cycles. Later still, the Nootka adopted a version of the Sxwaixwe as a personal crest, while the Lummi Indians of Washington State reinterpreted Central Coast Salish and Kwakiutl plastic representations of the Sxwaixwe as they adopted the mask as both ritual object and crest. Furthermore, the Sxwaixwe as a representation, was not

limited to masks but also appeared on house posts, grave figures, grave house fronts, combs, horn and wood rattles, spoon handles, and wood bowls. More recently, it has been used on 'totem poles', wall plaques, spirit dancer staves, band correspondence logos, Indian art advertisements, silk screen prints, and even figurines for the tourist market.

The Sxwaixwe's contemporary use as a plastic representation is linked to its continued use as a cleansing rite in life crisis situations and as a prestige display for those who own the right to it. As an inherited privilege owned by individuals, though available for use by all members of the kin group, the Sxwaixwe necessitates group co-operation in its production. Of all the Salish cleansing rites or privilege displays, it alone can not be produced or used by one person alone: male dancers dance in pairs, a chorus of women is needed to drum and to sing, both women's and men's skills are needed to produce the mask and the costume, and equally important, both men and women as members of an extended kin group act as channels through which ownership of the Sxwaixwe travels and expresses itself.

Thus, the Sxwaixwe acted, and still acts, through co-operation within a corporate group, and serves as an identifying feature of this corporate group. I will argue that because it is an inherited privilege, the Sxwaixwe reinforces status distinctions in Salish society that run counter to cultural ideals of egalitarianism, gender equality

and absence of hierarchy, that its increasing use was symptomatic of developing kin group ranking, and that it may be interpreted as an emergent kin group crest of the same nature as that of more northern Northwest Coast groups. In spite of this developing kin group ranking, I will argue that the gender interactions necessary for the production and display of the Sxwaixwe have allowed the Salish to maintain gender equality.

To support my contentions, I will first describe in chapter B what we know of Salish culture at the time of contact with Europeans with special emphasis on kin group ranking, gender relations, and Salish concepts of spirit, power, illness and 'cleansing'. I will then discuss the different classes of ritual specialists and ritual knowledge specific to Salish culture. I will also show how restricted access to 'cleansing' devices, understood as objects of religious importance and inherited property, has led to differential privilege within Salish society. Finally, I will introduce the Sxwaixwe as a special example of this class of inherited 'cleansing' devices.

Chapter C will consist of an analysis of the mask's and the costume's construction including a typology of current variations in mask and costume components. The range of objects which can bear its representation and the changes in iconography that occur as a result of cultural borrowing will also be presented. Finally, the necessary gender interactions

and complementarity of gender specific tasks necessary to the production of the Sxwaixwe, both as an object and as a ceremony, will be discussed.

Finally, Chapter D will present the religious meaning of the Sxwaixwe as ancestor, as supernatural being, as healer, as bestower of wealth and worth, as ethnic identifier, and lastly, as mediator of gender relations.

In the Conclusion, I will argue that the Sxwaixwe acts as a new, multi-vocal marker of power within Salish society and that its contemporary spread and use underline its adaptive function as social and ethnic identifier in the modern world.

B - SXWAIXWE AS RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

1. ABORIGINAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT (B1)

The Salish are identified by linguists (Thompson & Kinkade 1990:33) as members of a specific language family, the Salishan, which is divided into two main groupings: the Interior and the Coast. The Interior grouping is comprised of the Lillooet, Thompson, Okanagan-Colville, and Shuswap. The Coastal division is made up of the Bella Coola and Tillamook isolates, the Central Salish and the Tsamosan (formerly known as the Puget Sound or Olympic group). The Bella Coola include the Bella Coola proper, the Kimsquit and the Tallio. The Central grouping is comprised of the Comox (Island Comox, and Sliammon), Sechelt, Squamish, Pentlatch, Halkomelem (Chilliwack, Musqueam and Cowichan), Nooksack, Northern Straits (Saanich, Sooke, Songhees, Samish, Lummi, Semiahmoo), Clallam, Lushootseed (Northern and Southern) and Twana. The Tsamosan grouping includes the Quinalt, Upper Chehalis (Satsop, Upper Chehalis 1 and Upper Chehalis 2), Lower Chehalis, and Cowlitz. Finally, the Tillamook isolate (Tillamook and Siletz) is located south of the Columbia on the Oregon coast. These language divisions correspond to some extent to geographical locations (Map 1) and are used to represent those populations resident in these areas which shared a common language. The large number of separate languages suggests stability of population and residency for speakers of these language groups.

All of these groups will enter into consideration in this treatise but my main focus will be the Coast Salish.

Coast Salish territory at the arrival of the Europeans was comprised of (Map 2)

the eastern shore of Vancouver Island from Comox southward and the southern shore of the island facing over the Strait of Juan de Fuca; the mainland sounds and their hinterlands from Bute Inlet south to Burrard Inlet; the delta of the Fraser and the broad river valley up to the lower end of the Fraser Canyon east of Yale; and, in the State of Washington, from the mountains westward to the ocean in an area surrounding Puget Sound and the south bordering the territory of the non-Salish Chinook who inhabit the valley of the lower Columbia (Woodcock 1977:131).

No one knows with certainty when those populations which are now identified as Salish came to inhabit the southern Canadian and northern American areas of the North Pacific Coast. Archaeological finds show evidence of widely distributed, continuous human habitation for this area for the past 10,000 years at least. The Milliken site, near the city of Vancouver, has been identified as a salmon utilization site with much reuse for at least 9,000 years (Borden 1975:61). Analysis of archaeological remains seems to indicate a stable population with a well developed 'art' style showing continuity with forms extant in historic times (Borden 1975).

The natural environment of the area is benign to human occupation. The climate is moderate; freezing rarely occurs even in January and summer temperatures remain cool. Rainfall

is abundant both in winter and summer and the geography of the area creates much rapid local variation in microclimates. The sharply changing altitudes of the mountain ranges, running approximately north-south in the centre of Vancouver Island and inland as the Rockies, provide for different biotic zones and create a rain shadow effect: rainfall on their western sides is up to four times that of their eastern sides. Furthermore, the coastline changes markedly heading northward. South of Puget Sound, sheer cliffs and few fjords are found while north of it, the coast becomes indented with a large flat delta (Fraser River), more inland waters, deep fjords, and protected waters with many islands between Vancouver Island and the mainland.

Salish territory is rich in natural resources. Mountains, forest, parklands, drainage basins, rivers, intertidal flats, and sea can all provide food and raw materials in abundance. Seasonal and periodic fluctuations in fish resources (Suttles 1960b, 1968; Kew 1975, 1976) presented problems but storage techniques and systems of food exchange and trade, as well as the redistribution that was part of the 'potlatch' system (Suttles 1958:500, 1960b, 1968) helped alleviate times of need.

Possibly as a result of this abundance of natural food resources, Northwest Coast societies as a whole developed a seasonal hunting and gathering strategy. Large quantities of foods and efficient means of processing and storing this food

made permanent residences possible during the winter when food gathering was less productive. The strict seasonality and specific locality of plant availability (e.g. camas bulbs and various berries) and of certain fish runs (e.g. salmon, herring, eulachon) made warm weather dispersal to hunting, fishing, and gathering sites a necessity. This produced a cyclical dispersing and re-grouping of the population within its resource territory.

The Salish reckoned descent bilaterally with a slight preference for the male line. Primogeniture was a factor in inheritance, but both males and females inherited from both parents. Marriage was village exogamous and residence was ambilocal and very flexible, though a preference did seem to exist for patrilocality. Residency groups, comprised of extended families, or 'households', were the fundamental social units and included everyone resident in a winter house. A household was centered around the members of one kin group but also included slaves and people related by blood and marriage. 'Nuclear families' also existed within this extended family of bilateral kindred and they acted as commensal units and domestic groups within the winter longhouse. Within this winter house, each commensal unit had its own fire, firewood supply, sleeping and storage space. During the summer, its members constituted the summer camp group that dispersed to the various family owned resource exploitation sites.

'Villages' were formed of one or more permanent winter houses and were named places that had histories and could have origin myths associated with them. No Salish term exists to denote the village but it did act as the largest political and social unit for the Salish although neither houses nor villages were ranked. The village itself had no leader though households were led by individuals who commanded respect through prestige and wealth. These individuals were usually men but no norms prevented women from assuming this role (Kew 25/10/1984, pers. comm.).

There were, however, cognatic kin groups perhaps best understood as 'stem kindreds', that is, the personal kindreds of successive generations of 'owners' of certain ceremonial rights and one or more of the more productive natural resources. One of these men might tend to dominate a village but there was no village chief as such (Suttles 1968:65).

A household, as a corporate group, owned land and resource exploitation sites such as salmon and herring fishing grounds, hunting tracks, and shellfish, berry and camas bulb gathering sites. It also owned ritual rights to use certain images, to perform certain dances and ceremonies, to use certain masks and to bear certain names. The household 'leader' was the custodian of these rights; membership in the household and its privileges was inherited bilaterally. Some forms of inheritance could be contingent, such as those described by Onat (1984:90):

Certain kinds of items required for subsistence activities (and for ceremonial activities) were inherited from family members after one had

acquired the skills necessary for their manufacture and use.

Grandchildren could inherit from grandparents through the bestowing of rights to ownership and use of family prerogatives through the marriage gift:

On the marriage of his daughter, or the daughter of any important member of the extended family, it was not uncommon for a chief to bestow certain of the family prerogatives on the groom, thus in effect transmitting them to the bride's children when born (Drucker 1955/1963:121). (B2)

Private ownership was also known to the Salish. Both male and female enjoyed unalienable ownership of anything they made themselves for their own use, anything they acquired through earned or inherited supernatural power(s) such as dreams, formulaic knowledge, magic and spells, and anything they inherited as rights or items through membership within a specific kinship group. Also owned privately were any tools necessary to subsistence activities either made by an individual or bought from craftsmen. These goods could include weapons, nets, traps, canoes, blankets, clothing, ornaments, and wood and textile working tools. Private ownership extended to both incorporeal and real property (Barnett 1938:130; Elmendorf 1960/1974:332; Haeberlin & Gunther 1930:42, 46, 67; Onat 1984:90; Snyder 1964:74; Suttles 1951:486-488, 1960c:300).

Simple items could be manufactured by anyone, more complex items or items requiring a large investment of time and energy were manufactured by

specialists. (But), individuals generally specialized in the manufacture of specific items which they would give in exchange for other kinds of goods. (Onat 1984:90).

Collins' comments on the richness of the Western Washington Upper Skagit's economy are also true of other more northerly groups of Salish:

Their economy, based on hunting and salmon fishing, was rich enough to permit partial specialization of work. Among their numbers they had wood-workers, weavers, basket makers, warriors, and religious leaders although all these people obtained food as well as doing their special work (1974:3).

The commensal unit seems to have owned the winter house boards and tulle mats that were used to construct the walls of its living quarters. These were dismantled and transported during the summer to the family's summer camp(s) to be assembled as their temporary shelter. House leaders owned roof boards and they also tended to own greater numbers of those capital goods used in the subsistence round (dip and reef nets, traps, etc.). Finally, the village itself owned undefined but real proprietary rights to areas adjacent to it as demonstrated by a history of defense against invasions, raids, and feuds (Kew 25/10/1984, pers. com.).

Salish society was less formally structured, more amorphous, and less hierarchical than more northern coastal groups. Nevertheless, inequality was still present: a three tiered class system existed within the village and the household. The majority of people were .Siié.m..., leaders

and 'good people'. A much smaller number were 'worthless people', i.e., to be pitied (t'sos.), crooked or malformed (tən.sqəq'ɛx.....), or born of slavery (tən.sx.wayəə). These 'worthless people' were free but without 'knowledge' to give them worth. Finally, a very small number of slaves (.....) existed (Suttles 1958,1960c). These were indebtedured people, war captives, and children of slaves. These class categories were not firmly bounded, rather they were contextual and relational. Loss of 'worth' was always something to be feared and a higher status was something that could sometimes be gained through personal endeavour. In fact, Suttles (1960c:303) speaks of the drive for high status as "itself part of the total system":

Some of the values stimulating and supporting the drive to attain high status are seen in native ethical theory, which insists that knowledge of good behaviour is the monopoly of the 'good' families and that the lower class are 'without advice' (i.e. without properly enculturated values), and some are seen in native supernaturalism, which insists that success in any practical activity is achieved with supernatural support and thus gives the seeker for supernatural power both the confidence and the incentive to succeed in the practical. These values are given to the individual early in life and are reaffirmed until the end.

Notwithstanding the class structure, however, a flexibility was built into the system of rank, residence and kinship and an individual did have mechanisms available by which to move through this structure.

2. SPIRIT QUEST AND SPIRIT POWER

Salish religious life is founded on the belief in "a natural world permeated by spirits", on "universal accessibility to the supernatural" (Woodcock 1977:146) (B3) and on the possibility for human beings to enter into partnership with these spirit beings. Collins has identified a central theme of Salish religious practices as "the deep, warm, lasting, personal relationship between each individual and his own guardian spirit" (1974:4) acquired during a successful spirit quest. As a result of this ongoing partnership, one acquires a "power" or special ability, exemplified by a song and a dance. This partnership is the source of all future success.

2.1. Spirit Questing:

Early in life, certainly before their teens, young boys and some young girls would be encouraged by their families to prepare themselves for spirit partnership. Early morning rising, bathing in bodies of natural cold water, brisk scrubbing with evergreen boughs, periodic fasting, vomiting and use of emetics, the use of the sweat bath, and increasingly long periods of isolation in forest or mountain areas would eventually lead, for most aspirants, to dreams within which a spirit encounter would occur. The guardian spirit or spirit helper that came in this dream could take the form of an animal, a tool, or some natural phenomenon,

more partnerships and more gifts through prolonged and repeated spirit questing. However, it was never certain which, if any, powers or spirit partnerships would be acquired.

2.2. Types of Spirit Power (B5):

Two main types of swiam (spirit power) were obtainable: secular and shamanic. These two types of power could be distinguished according to various characteristics such as the spirit entity involved, the type of ownership (personal or inheritable), the time of activation (continuous or intermittent), the locus of benefit (individual or group), and the locus of action (mundane world or spiritual world).

2.2.1 Secular Power:

Secular power made one a specialist, "one who had the sympathy and co-operation of a supernatural assistant" (BCPA 1952:30). This power was personal, for individual benefit, non transferable and could not be inherited. More than one power could be acquired by individuals as they established working partnerships with more than one guardian spirit or acquired multiple powers from the same spirit. The most prestigious and 'strongest' secular powers were those of war and the warrior, and those of wealth and gambling. These skills activated when needed and were made available by a restricted number of spirit entities. Next in importance were subsistence skills (hunting, fishing, gathering), and

technological skills (basketry, weaving, wood working, canoe building). These skills were always evident in the success of the human partner accomplishing his or her task(s). There was no special class of spirits which could provide one with these skills.

Another class of powers was restricted to the acquisition of a song and dance from the *sulia*. No special ability seemed to derive from it; nevertheless, all spirit partnerships, no matter the skill or ability they offered, seemed to bring at the very least a "deep, warm, lasting, personal relationship" (Collins 1974:4) which provided "both the confidence and the incentive to succeed in the practical" (Suttles 1960c:303). This relationship was publicly displayed through the performance of one's spirit dance and song at group winter spirit dances.

2.2.2 Shamanic Power:

Shamanic power made one a ritualist of a specific kind, "possessing power and recognized as proficient in its use for others" (Kew 1990b:477). The shaman's power was mainly one of curing, especially through soul retrieval. His or her power was personal and certainly had individual and personal benefits for the shaman. Yet shamanic power was conceived as being for group benefit since the shaman exercised his or her power for the benefit of his or her client or patient. Shamanic power could be activated at any time but was not

displayed at winter spirit dances through the performance of a spirit dance and song. The spirits which could bestow shamanic powers were restricted in number and were known as the only ones which could bestow this type of power.

Further discussion of the types of shamans and shamanic powers available, especially for curing, follows in the discussion of Illness and Health.

In summary, both women and men quest for swia'm by entering into partnership with sulia by means of a protracted and difficult spirit quest initiated before puberty. More men than women spirit quest, probably as a result of the greater restrictions on young girls' movements at the time of puberty. Acquiring at least one spirit partner is highly desirable as spirit power brings with it special ability and proficiency. This proficiency brings success, which in turn brings wealth. Wealth brings prestige and/or status, or allows status to be validated through wealth distributions such as potlatches.

3. ILLNESS AND HEALTH

For the Salish, illness could have many causes and each might need the ministrations of a different ritual specialist. The main causes of illness were perceived as a loss of vitality, possession by ghosts, unresolved or unrecognized spirit possession, bodily intrusion of something usually as a result of directed malice, soul loss,

uncleanliness, and .XÉ.'XƏ. (xe'xe) (Jenness 1955/1979:37) seen as ritual ambiguity.

To better understand the possible causes of illness, it is necessary to understand how the Salish understand humans to be constituted.

3.1. Body and Souls:

According to Jenness' informants (1955/1979:35), humans are constituted of five parts:

- 1) ŠXwəli'. 'soul', possibly understandable as 'identity' or 'that which makes one human', though salmon also have souls and are the only animals to do so because they are humans in the sea.
- 2) sməsti.áw. 'vitality', 'life', 'thought' which was also responsible for memory
- 3) swiá.m'. 'a certain special talent or power'
- 4) .qəy.'xəne.'tən a 'shadow' or 'reflection'
- 5) a body (B6)

At death, a human's special power (#3) perishes with the body (#5). The soul (#1) "which was believed to be located in the head, left the body" (Barnett 1955/1975:217) and either "went to the sunset where it remained forever" (BCPA 1952:36) or, according to Old Pierre, it returned to Him Who Dwells

Above (Jenness 1955/1979:35). The vitality (#2) and the shadow (#4) merged to produce the *ṣpəḷq.wi'ṣ'a* "shadow ghost" which could "roam invisible in the neighbourhood of its old home, dreaded by all the surviving relatives" (Jenness 1955/1979:35). This shadow ghost could have "either good or evil intent, depending upon the character of the person in life." (BCPA 1952:36).

3.2 Vitality:

Most important to our understanding of illness and health is the concept of vitality. According to Jenness' informants (1955/1979:36), a person's vitality could leave his or her body temporarily in dreams, faints and trances. When out of the body, it could travel to other localities and thus obtain information not available in the waking state. It could also interact with non-human entities during the dream state and return changed by this encounter:

If a man keep himself absolutely pure by continence and frequent bathing, then at some time or other his thought may leave his body and traveling to some holy place invisible to normal eyes, gain an excess of talent or power (*swia'm*) which will impart to its owner when it returns; but if it fails to return, the man will become crazy and die (Jenness 1955/1979: 36).

Furthermore, if one were to lose a limb or part of one's body to injury or disease, one would also suffer a loss of vitality and maybe even a change in character (36).

Vitality permeated the living world. Plants and animals were imbued with it. The sun, as well as fire, was an especially important source of vitality as it was from it "that man himself gains warmth, which is also inseparable from vitality...(36)". So strong was the connection between the sun's vitality and the vitality in humans that the latter was said to wane in winter when the sun was weak and cold. This is why spirit dancing was engaged in during the winter; humans could share in the vitality of their spirit partners by singing and dancing their swia'm, and thus enhance their own vitality.

Another source of external vitality that humans could tap was within evergreen trees. These trees do not shed their leaves nor do they seem to enter into winter dormancy. Thus they were seen as especially vital. In the words of Old Pierre:

They (the trees) will grow as you grow. By rubbing yourself with their branches after you bathe you shall gain help from them, since they too have vitality (Jenness 1955/1979:36).

Later, we will see how evergreen boughs will be used by Sxwaixwe dancers to 'wash' away ambiguity from the persons honoured during their dance.

3.3. Possession and Illness:

Illness could occur through spirit possession, either through the agency of a malignant shadow ghost, through human contact with supernatural entities (.ṣʰɛˈləkəm, slalakum (Duff 1952b:117-9)) too strong for the human to survive, through directed malice (usually seen as coming from a 'witch' or evil shaman, see below), or again, through a spirit partnership not being recognized and/ or acknowledged. A cure could be effected, depending on the circumstances, by the removal of the offending spirit by a qualified ritualist, or else, in spirit partnership being accepted and displayed / expressed during the winter spirit dance season.

3.4. Soul Loss:

Earlier, we saw how vitality, as a non-corporeal component of an individual self, could leave the body temporarily. It was also possible for vitality to not return. Why was not always apparent but certainly malice from ghosts and evil shamans were seen as possible causes. As a result of lost or waylaid vitality, a person could languish, become unconscious, or even die. The timely intervention of a shaman who could search out and retrieve the lost vitality, often spoken of as soul retrieval, could restore the ailing person to health.

3.5. Shamans and Healing Powers (B7):

Speaking of the Halkomelem, Hill-Tout (1904b:331) describes three types of shamans which derived their respective abilities from power(s) acquired through spirit partnership. These three types were the .ḡ.wa|á.m.. 'doctor', the ..S̄.l.wé.l.... 'soothsayer/clairvoyant/seer', and the ...S̄.e.ú.wa..... 'witch/spell user/ sorcerer.

The 'doctor' (from 'to heal' or 'to make well') attended to 'inward' sickness caused by the influence of spell or enchantment, and restored lost souls or spirits. He (doctors were male) could also oversee the burning of food and goods at mortuary rituals. His special ability to cure came from his understanding of

maleficent and mysterious agencies, which could only be controlled or counteracted by incantations and rites performed by one versed in the mysteries (Hill-Tout 1902/1978:48).

The 'seer' (from 'to dream'), attended to all bodily wounds, protected the living from ghosts, supervised burial functions and puberty rites, and, through his or her special sight, could foretell the future, interpret omens, dreams and visions, and find lost people and things. The seer was also able to discern the ghost shadows of dead people and cause them to depart.

The 'witch' or spell user was responsible for bewitchments and enchantments. They (both male and female)

had a mystic language of their own. They could be employed to injure an enemy, converse with the dead or ritually cleanse the family of the deceased (Hill-Tout 1902/1978:61).

All of these ritual practitioners became shamans as a result of long and difficult spirit quests. Their power(s) came from a partnership with *sulia* which could confer shamanic power(s). Paid for their services, they did not dance as shamans during the winter spirit dances but acted as shamans throughout the year.

3.6. Hereditary Ritualists:

Another important group of ritual specialists involved in curing (among other things) were the various hereditary ritualists. A certain overlap of abilities seems to exist between some of the shamans and some of the hereditary ritualists; both might be clairvoyant, both might be able to converse with shadow ghosts, both might be able to cure various bodily ills, yet they can be easily differentiated if one identifies the source of the ritualists' power(s). All shamans, and only shamans, get their ability to cure from a direct partnership with their *sulia*. Ritualists may have intrinsic abilities, may inherit special knowledge, or may acquire special knowledge or tools (*syewen*) from their *sulia*.

Though both shamans and hereditary ritualists can use their abilities at any time, hereditary ritualists, who get their power(s) from *sulia*, take part in the winter spirit

dances. Furthermore, their abilities are available only to their families or kin group rather than to anyone who can afford their services.

Hereditary ritualists include midwives who have magical aids for easy or safe childbirth, women who know how to induce abortions, people who prepare the dead for burial and feed the dead, men who perform first salmon rights, men and women ritualists who conduct purification rites after puberty or parturition, and people who know the use of medicinal herbs.

These hereditary ritualists use a variety of ritual observances

of essentially magical character, involving spells and rites intended to bring about desirable results or to eliminate undesirable conditions (which) could be inherited, since it depended on the knowledge of some fragment of ancient lore, embodied in propitiatory incantations and acts that could easily be taught, and including elements of practical psychology and sometimes of primitive pharmacology (Woodcock 1977:146).

Almost all families had access to hereditary knowledge and most families had at least one person who knew the words, formulas, or actions necessary. Some families also had, as part of their hereditary knowledge, the use of cleansing devices, one of which is the Sxwaixwe.

4. XE'XE AND CLEANSING DEVICES

4.1. Xe'xe or Dangerous Ambiguity:

Salish society was a class society in which propriety (proper behaviour) was an all-important strategy for maintaining status. Nevertheless, status was not permanent. Not only was it relative to the status of others, but it was also relative to oneself. Any point of ambiguity, any period of transition, of sickness, of non-standard behaviour entailed a risk of losing status. Yet everyone, during the course of a normal life span, lives times of transition: birth, the acquisition of names, puberty, marriage, pregnancy, parturition (for both parents), illness, mourning, and death. As well, one takes part in actions that can place one's status at risk: spirit questing, mourning, shaming, and potlatching. What is dangerous is the ambiguity inherent in transition and this ambiguity is seen as unclean, 'xe'xe'. It is possible that xe'xe is a moral category considering the stigma attached to those outside the social system, i.e. commoners and slaves (Suttles 1958).

Since xe'xe was considered somehow contagious, it was all important to 'cleanse' people in transition, to restore them to their former status, or else to install them in their new status as unambiguously as possible. Cleansing rites, and the use of cleansing devices were a preferred means to this end.

4.2. Cleansing Devices:

One of the goals of the various spirit questing activities is to render the human questant as 'clean' as possible and thus pleasing to the spirits. "Unclean persons, or those associated with evil spirits" (BCPA 1952:30) threaten the success of an enterprise, such as building a canoe. A loss of purity or cleanliness can jeopardize one's status and loss of purity is also seen as a loss of spirit power. Considered the most important ritual property a kin group could own, .ḡ.ḡḡ^w.tḡ.ḡ.... (Jenness 1955/1979:71), inherited cleansing devices, and the performances within which they were used, were privileged means to restore or change a family member's status or state. (B8)

Consistent with the metaphor of status ambiguity as uncleanliness,

it was said that these performances were given in order to strengthen or cleanse the person for whom they were given (Suttles 1974:406).

These cleansing performances followed a fairly standard format. The person (or memento of a deceased relative) to be cleansed was presented to invited, non-kin witnesses. Speeches were made. The performance was presented. Gifts were given to some or to all of the invited guests to thank them for witnessing the performance (Suttles 1990:468).

These performances were family rights but were usually spoken of as belonging to individuals, evidently to the members of the owning families who

possessed the paraphernalia and knew the songs or the workings of the tricks used. These persons staged performances for other members of their families and in the case of some performances they seem to have been hired by outsiders as well. (Suttles 1974:407)

The most widely used, "perhaps by all but the Nooksack and Clallam" (Suttles 1990:469), cleansing devices consisted of performances in which stuffed skins of fishers, minks, bears, wolves, and flickers appeared to come to life, stones to float on water, baskets to fly through the air, young men to play catch with red-hot stones, and thunder to sound and lightning to flash in a darkened house. These cleansing rites were considered less important than the ritualist's rattle and the Sxwaixwe and they seem to have been used primarily as entertainment during potlatches (Jenness 1955/1979:72-74, Suttles 1951:413-420, Suttles 1990:468).

For the Halkomelem, Squamish, and some Northern Straits Salish, the Sxwaixwe and the ritualist's rattle were the two most important cleansing devices (Suttles 1990:468) and they continue to be so today (Kew 1990b).

5. THE SXWAIXWE

5.1. Source of Power:

The Sxwaixwe did not involve any power or spirit relation other than the power to wash away dangerous ambiguity. As was the case with all the cleansing rites, the Sxwaixwe was not used during the winter dances by any of the Salish groups (Barnett 1955/1975:156). To be a Sxwaixwe dancer did not make one a shaman or any other kind of ritualist with a special connection with spirits. A Sxwaixwe dancer (always male) was not possessed nor could he perform any spiritual function other than cleansing someone going through a life crisis situation (Codere 1948:10).

The efficacy of cleansing devices does not come from anyone's guardian spirit in the usual sense of a nonhuman helper acquired through a dream or vision experience. Instead, it is thought to come from spells, words believed to have inherent power to control whatever they name, which are closely guarded and handed down in families. The efficacy of the sxwayxwey comes (or came in the old days) from the secret words used when it was made and used, especially in the incantation sung at dawn. The singer was a ritualist (a master of spells), as opposed to a shaman (who works through guardian spirits). As opposed to the spirit dancers of the winter dance, who dance individually, spontaneously and in a state of possession, the sxwayxwey dancers ... are hired for the occasion, dance together, are paid as they dance, and dance in an ordinary state (Suttles 1982:59).

5.2. Privilege and Exclusivity:

The Sxwaixwe, as privilege, ritual and iconography, was elaborated and owned by Salish tribes of the Central Coast

Salish area. By the turn of the century, this privilege was owned by

families of most, if not all of the Stalo tribes, by Squamish, Cowichan, Nanaimo, Saanich, Lummi, Comox, Slaimun, Klahuse, Homalco, Alberni Nootka and southern Kwakiutl (Duff 1952b:123) (B9).

Not all Salish families had the right to use, display, or hire for performance the Sxwaixwe as this masked dance is a .ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ (cexwten), an inheritable right (Jenness 1955/1979:91). Its ownership is restricted to direct descendants of

A named tribal ancestor (who) received the figure of the swai'xwe and it was passed down ... and out into other groups through intermarriage (Codere 1948:13) (B10).

Inheritance of the Sxwaixwe privilege was bilateral. Children of both sexes could inherit it from either parent. Girls did not dance but a girl could acquire a mask if her father gave her one as part of her wedding gifts. She could then pass this privilege on to her children:

When a Musqueam woman married an Indian of another community, she was commonly escorted to her canoe by two masked dancers, one of whom sometimes presented her with his costume, saying, 'If you ever have a son, train him to use this costume and to chant the song that goes with it' (Jenness 1955/1979:72).

Her husband, however, did not acquire rights to Sxwaixwe through his marriage, nor could his kin benefit from it.

As mentioned earlier, the Salish have a slight bias towards primogeniture. Barnett describes how sons inherited the privilege from their fathers:

One son inherited the mask of his father. He was the 'boss' of it and was the dancer for the family; his brothers have the right to have it displayed for their benefit but the mask itself passed on to his son. However, a father could have other masks made for other sons. Whether he did so depended upon whether or not they cared to take upon themselves the responsibility of dancing, for it was onerous. The person bestowing a mask upon an heir did not relinquish his own swaihwe rights. He continued to dance, using his own mask or a newly made one, as he wished (1955/1975:157).

Thus, the right to own and use the Sxwaixwe is inherited bilaterally, and is restricted to only a few families. Because of this, it became a privileged means to status enhancement. The Sxwaixwe

was exceptional in that the right to perform it belonged only to DIRECT descendants of the originators. Over many generations that right was acquired by a number of people throughout the region but by no means all. Unlike other cleansing ceremonies, therefore, the mask dance became a privilege tied to a special class of rich and well connected people rather than to a particular locality. (Robinson 1963:111, emphasis in original.)

As a restricted inherited privilege or .ḡ.əx.^wt.ɛ.ŋ.... (cexten) (Jenness 1955/1979:91), a Sxwaixwe performance displayed the owner's special status. Only certain high class families who could trace their ties back to an original owner/finder of the mask could claim this privilege. As a privilege, it was thought to provide wealth

(Codere 1948:12) and safeguard against loss of status:

To its owner, one of the most valuable things about the *sxwayxwey* was its use in maintaining social status. It cleansed, not simply of imagined dangers to which one might be vulnerable when undergoing life crises, but also of the very real dangers that might result from loss of status. This was stressed by several of my consultants. With the *sxwayxwey* you can wipe away an insult, redeem the marriage of your daughter to a man of low standing, raise the status of a captured girl so that your son may marry her. Conversely with a subtle signal (as by instructing a dancer to shift the rattle for a moment to his left hand) you can show those in the know that the young relative you have been hired to perform for is not really what he pretends to be (Suttles 1982:64).

Shaming a son-in-law was another way of using the *Sxwaixwe* as a means of social control:

Thus if a man's daughter were unhappily married, he sometimes invited his son-in-law and his son-in-law's kinsmen to a feast, at which he put on his masked-dance costume, clothed his daughter in rich goat's wool blankets, and denounced her ill-treatment in a song that was taken up by relatives with drums and sticks. In this way he publicly shamed his son-in-law, whose kinsmen hastily offered compensation, and either ensured the woman against further ill-treatment or agreed to annul the marriage (Jenness 1955/1979:71).

Whatever the circumstances of its use, the *Sxwaixwe* was performed

at crisis rites only when the rites were held in conjunction with the large intervillage gathering (*klanak*) in the spring (Barnett 1955/1975:169)

or again at the *.sgwē'.qwe'* (*sgwe'gwe*) potlatch or cultus potlatch held in the summer when the salmon began to run (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:60-1).

5.3. Contemporary Performances:

Sxwaixwe performances still occur today, but they have undergone a change of performance context if not of use.

5.3.1. Winter Spirit Dances:

The Sxwaixwe, as a cleansing rite, still does not figure as part of the winter spirit dancing in the winter longhouse. Rather, it is used as part of the 'business' which precedes most winter dances (Amoss 1978:57; Jilek 1982:148-49, 151: Kew 1970:176-79, 1981:10; Robinson 1963:142-3; Suttles 1963:517). This 'business' is the old summer potlatch ceremonies of name giving, memorial feasts, and marriage announcements. Add to these the initiation of new spirit dancers: in a ceremony reminiscent of the name giving, the new dancer is displayed to the assembled guests while Sxwaixwe dancers perform around him or her (Kew 1970:176-79). The only difference from the early historic context is the change of performance season and the association with winter dances.

5.3.2. Summer Canoe Races:

Since the early part of this century, local groups of Salish have sponsored competitive canoe races. This has led to the elaboration of a wide-spread racing circuit and its attendant large gatherings of people. Many Salish have begun to take advantage of these gatherings to hold traditional

potlatches similar to the aboriginal summer potlatches. At these, Sxwaixwe performances occur for the same reasons that they did aboriginally (Kew 1970:294-96; Suttles 1963:518). Nevertheless, observers have noticed an emphasis on the Sxwaixwe status enhancing functions and a de-emphasis of its 'cleansing' functions.

In summary, the Sxwaixwe acts as both a 'cleansing' device and a 'status enhancing' device for the kin groups that own it. It is marked by the unusual egalitarian nature of its ownership by both sexes and their equal though different roles in transmitting it through inheritance and marriage. Even within the contemporary context, performing the Sxwaixwe continues to fulfill its social functions of 'cleansing' (integration) and status enhancement (differentiation).

6. MEN AND WOMEN AND DANCING THE SXWAIXWE

It is just before dawn, sometime in summer, and the guests are still asleep in the cedar longhouse. Suddenly a loud noise wakes everyone. Someone has lifted and dropped one of the cedar roof boards. Chanting (B12) then announces to everyone that today the potlatch holder will be displaying his Sxwaixwe privilege.

Soon everyone is outside. Blankets have been heaped onto a raised platform from which they will be thrown to the

assembled guests in a 'scramble'. A curtained enclosure has been prepared for the dancers' dressing room. An even number of men (B13) are already getting ready behind the curtains. Outside, a group of women sit themselves in front of a long box drum. Everyone else gathers to watch.

Towards noon, sounds begin to emerge from the dressing room (B14).

The dancers, before their appearance, began a heavy treading step in unison and sounded a deep booming note at each stamp. (Barnett 1955/1975:158)

One of the women starts beating a steady rhythm. Finally, one of the dancers emerges:

He advances, dancing with short prancing steps, raising his right arm along with his right knee and left arm along with his left knee. After a few steps forward he retreats into the cubicle. He advances and retreats a second time and a third, and then with the fourth advance he continues onward. He is followed out by a second dancer, who likewise makes three starts before proceeding on the fourth. (Suttles 1982:57).

Each subsequent dancer repeats this sequence of three hesitations and then a fourth successful advance. Once all are out, the dancers proceed around the dancing space in a counterclockwise direction. Their mask and tunic feathers sway with each of their movements.

The dancers finally arrive at the door of the longhouse. They escort the person to be cleansed to a central spot where he or she sits. The drumming women now start singing:

The dancers bring their rattles down hard with each beat. As the song ends, they converge on the (sitting person). They pull back and converge again and again and on the fourth time stand over (the person) and brush (him or her) with their hemlock boughs. The song and the brushing are repeated three more times. Now the dancers move faster around the (chair). People come out and hand them blankets, which are taken from them by helpers. Finally, one by one the dancers return with a shuffling gait to the cubicle, each advancing and retreating and entering (walking backwards, L.D.), now exhausted, on the fourth advance" (Suttles 1982:57; see also Jilek 1982:148-9 & Duff 1952b:126).

After the dance, potlatchers and guests exchange speeches. The guests are paid for their witnessing and there is a general 'scramble', for the remaining blankets thrown from the raised platform. The potlatch is over.

From all accounts (Amoss 1978; Barnett 1955/1975; Jilek 1982; Robinson 1963; Suttles 1982), it seems certain that only women drum for a performance. These women are members of the Sxwaixwe-owning kin groups and they are hired for the occasion (Suttles 1982:59). It is a single woman's drumming that signals a dance's start. It is the women's concerted drumming that paces the dancers and

the women, including the dancers' wives, drummed vigorously, and the donor or his representative all the while sang his song and shook his globular rattle" (Barnett 1955/1975:159).

The songs that the women sing are usually composed for the occasion and serve to "assert the worth of the person being washed" (Suttles 1982:59) (B15). Jilek mentions how the

women's singing serves to control the dancers:

The wild power of the male dancers - only strong young men can perform the Sxwaixwe dance - is tamed by the women's peaceful soothing song which imposes order and rhythm on chaotic energy (1982:152-3).

It is noticeable that the dancers move more vigorously when the singing stops and slow down when the women start singing again. It can therefore be said that the women control the tempo of the dance and that the men control its length since they choose when to re-enter the dressing enclosure. While only women sing and drum, only men dance (Jenness 1955/1979:72) and those men:

privileged to perform swaihwe constituted a fraternity... There was no initiation, no formal induction, no payment to other owners when one acquired a mask, no organization, and no integration of purposes. No meetings were held. The 'society', if it may be called such, amounted to nothing more than a loose aggregate of persons having the same inherited privilege who temporarily acted together by chance of having been called by the same patron to go through their dance forms individually. Usually, they were called from different villages and groups (Barnett 1955/1975:156-7).

When it was decided that a boy should learn to dance, he observed other dancers and imitated them. The basic step is one of raising the right arm and leg together then raising the left arm and leg together. Each step is executed as a stamp. Each dancer varies the steps to better match his type of mask:

...the dancer imitates the actions of the creature represented by his mask. If his mask represents a raven, he leaps up and down; if a spring salmon, he

pretends to fight, the spring salmon being very pugnacious; if a beaver, he slinks round the dance-hall (Jenness 1955/1979:91).

They had no song or dance belonging to them as a group, but they danced to any song of their host and patron which fitted the occasion. Between themselves, too, their steps differed according to the mask that each dancer wore; the raven and beaver masks required slow steps; the sawbill and salmon, quick and fast ones (Barnett 1955/1975:158).

Finally, the only 'secret' associated with the dance was the sye'wen, or personal spirit given power that young people requested for individually. This sye'wen protects every dancer from mishaps and the magic of hostile onlookers (Barnett 1955/1975:157) (B16).

7. SUMMARY

Salish society, though seemingly egalitarian and democratic, was (and is) fundamentally unequal. Individuals occupy one of three possible class levels, but their status is never fixed. Life events occasion times of status ambiguity which can lead to either a rise or a fall of status. As well, the individual can choose to take part in activities that will affect his or her status. Thus, laziness, acting in ways that are deemed improper, being unsuccessful or inept, and enslavement, all lead to a loss of status. A successful spirit quest, good behaviour, inherited privileges and names, the display of these privileges, and the acquisition of prestige and wealth through success, all lead to a rise (or a maintenance) of status. Dangerous times

of status ambiguity occasioned by sickness, death, bereavement, parturition (for both parents), birth (for the child), twins (for both parents and children), puberty, marriage, initiation into spirit dancing and the taking on of new names, are all considered ambiguous and dangerous because the individual (and his or her status) is in flux and no longer conforms to or belongs in the structure of the system. Cleansing rites "work" because they "wash" this ambiguity away by publicly restoring an individual to an original 'fit' within the system or else installing him or her into a new 'fit' by displaying the individual's new status within the group and having this new status ratified publicly by the 'witnessing' done by the non-kin guests. This explains why the only ones who cannot be cleansed are those who cannot claim 'appartenance/belonging' to a cleansing rite owning group: i.e.: the ones permanently outside the system, the slaves and worthless people. Ownership and performance of the Sxwaixwe are privileged and restricted means to safeguard and enhance the status of members, both male and female, of Sxwaixwe owning kin groups. Furthermore, the Sxwaixwe differs from other cleansing rites in that it requires the participation of both genders and kin group co-operation in its enactment.

C - SXWAIXWE AS OBJECT

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Data Set:

Of all the Northwest Coast art styles, the Salish is the least well represented in museum collections. Why is not immediately apparent but some possible reasons include: a natural constraint on production resulting from the private and personal nature of the iconography of guardian spirit depictions (Suttles 1983, Kew 1980a,b); a more naturalistic and restrained art style (Wingert 1949a, Gunther 1962/1971, Holm 1972, Kew 1980a, Suttles 1982) which may have seemed more "primitive", and therefore less desirable, to the eyes of nineteenth century collectors (Cole 1985); the lack of political units larger than the extended residency group and the concomitant absence of crest art used to display political and social rank (Drucker 1955/1963:127); the relative absence of winter dance cycles, other than the spirit dance, and the secret society paraphernalia that accompanies them (Drucker 1955/1963:114); and finally, the greater disruption of Native culture following European contact with its devastation of Native populations through disease and loss of Native land resulting from the concentration of White settlements in aboriginal Salish areas. Nevertheless, the Salish had a well developed and particular way of forming and decorating the artifacts they

produced. Furthermore,

The stark simplicity of the Salish art is perhaps a reflection of a closer spiritual relation between an individual and his guardian spirit compared to the social domination of the arts of the north.
(Gunther 1962/1971:325)

This aesthetic sensibility and the plastic forms it took, are only now beginning to be analyzed in any depth (Bierwert 1981, 1987; Calkins 1977; Feder 1983; Kew 1979, 1980a,b, 1981; Suttles 1982; Wingert 1949a/1969, 1949b) and it is becoming increasingly apparent that here was a well established art form with rules and formalisms allied to that of the more northern groups yet distinct and possibly unique to the Northwest Coast.

But how to analyze this art style if so few items remain? As well, few ceremonial, ritual, or secular items continued to be produced after White contact as their original context of use disappeared and fewer or no skilled artisans or artists were left to produce them (Kew 1981). Yet, a surprising amount of information (and number of artifacts, far more than the 300 estimated by Feder (1983)) are available to anyone who is ready to excavate them. I use the term "excavate", because what is involved here is a kind of "archaeology" of visual data as scraps of information are unearthed from art books, travel journals, museum exhibits, accession notes, collectors' notes, private slide collections, archival documents, old photographs and postcards, ethnographic films, tourist accounts, art and

curio stores, and Native art shows (C1). As a result of this research, images were collected for over 250 items that either carried the Sxwaixwe image or were associated with the Sxwaixwe mask or performance. Of these, 104 are Central Coast Salish masks, 30 are Kwakiutl Kwekwe masks, 15 are contemporary Lummi masks, 19 are Curio Sxwaixwe masks made for the tourist market, 2 are Nootkan Sxwaixwe masks, 12 are grave figures, 1 is a grave house front, 6 are house posts, 3 are 'totem' poles, 6 are curio figurines, 4 are combs, 3 are horn rattles, 1 is a wood rattle, 1 is a wood bowl, 1 is a wooden spoon, and 1 is a silk screen print. The others are items of costume or mask assemblages and 2 kerfed boxes in which Sxwaixwe costumes were stored (Appendix One) (C2). Also found were a number of photographic series taken during "potlatches" and dance practices at which Sxwaixwe dancers appeared (Appendix Three). The earliest date from 1895 and the most recent date from 1976 (Jilek 1988) for a total of 59 images and 12 separate performances. Through cross-referencing art book photographs, collection notes, accession records and performance photographs and films, 'histories' were completed for many of the masks, and it was even possible to recognize that one mask, first photographed by W.A. Newcombe in the early 1900's (Barnett 1955/1975, Pl. 17, right) was the same one as that worn in the Harlan I. Smith film of 1928 and again, in Wilson Duff's 1949 photographs of a Musqueam Sxwaixwe rehearsal (see especially MOA-A295 and MOA-A85). If the mask still exists, it will have been in

documented use for nearly 100 years.

The attribution of an "earliest date known" for many artifacts became possible as in situ photographs or original collection notes for them were discovered. Many of these artifacts had become divorced from their collection information (if they ever had any), through the loss of accession records, changes in museum numbering systems, incomplete transfer of information from one cataloguing system to another, or else, an original lack of collection information either through Native owners unable to remember the artifacts' histories or the collectors never writing any. An example is the collection of Capt. D.F. Tozier amassed at the turn of the century and now dispersed (C3). A Kwakiutl Kwekwe mask (AMNH 6/9153 illustrated in Dockstader 1966: fig 90) was not identified in its museum accession records as belonging to the Tozier haul and had little collection information associated with it. But a photograph of it existed in an undated pamphlet (Gilstrap, n.d.) illustrating the collections of the "Ferry Museum of Tacoma", a glorified warehouse for Tozier's 'finds'. Its collection could therefore be dated with some confidence to between 1891 and 1907, the years Tozier spent on the coast (Cole 1985:220). By 1907, the collection had been dispersed and this mask was part of the AMNH collections.

Of the 3 Sxwaixwe dancer's costumes found in museum collections, only one was identified as such and as Salish

(MOA A 9329 to A 9337). It was also the only one with an associated mask. The MAI costume pieces (the costume is not complete) consist of a "S'xwi-wai" collar, swan crest leggings, and scallop rattle, all from Clemclemaluts, and sent to the Heye in 1935 (MAI photo Ec 746). There is a mask (MAI 18/8819) also from Clemclemaluts and collected at the same time that may, in fact, be associated with these costume items. The surprise was the complete costume in Ottawa (NMC VII-X-1268 to 1275) which was not identified as a Sxwaixwe costume, or even Salish, but only "problematically" Northwest Coast. It had arrived at the museum before 1925 without an associated mask (as far as is now known) and without collection information. A researcher grows accustomed to finding Salish material, in both Canadian and American museums, to be unlabeled, mislabeled, or stored away because it was "boring" or "not flashy enough". Given a better understanding of Salish aesthetics and iconography, this situation might change.

The inventorying and identification of museum collections is an ongoing task which has been sorely neglected in many museums, especially for older collections. Many smaller museums have only a few holdings from any one area. It is increasingly important that ethnographers interest themselves in the visual record kept in museums. A systematic and exhaustive search of available collections may lead to surprising insights into the aesthetic philosophy of any group under study.

1.2. Methods of Analysis:

I transferred as many as possible of the artifact images available to me to 35mm slide format. I also photographed artifacts, especially masks, from as many viewpoints as possible. In this, I was continuing the strategy that Dr. Michael Kew had initiated with his slide collection of Salish materials (C4). Once the slides were processed, they were sorted by type of objects and I could then display all the grave figures, for example, side by side on a slide viewer and compare them for similar and dissimilar characteristics.

Nevertheless, there were some initial problems in sorting the original group of 129 Salish masks dating from 1840 to the present that were identified as Sxwaixwe. These exhibited a number of forms, not all of which seemed related to each other. Also present were 2 Nootka and 30 Kwakiutl masks said to be derived from the Salish Sxwaixwe. Three questions imposed themselves:

- 1) What constitutes a "Sxwaixwe"? Is there a "typical" Sxwaixwe?
- 2) How do Salish masks that are not typical relate to those that are?
- 3) How do Nootkan and Kwakiutl masks recognized as Sxwaixwe derivatives relate to the typical Salish masks?

Before choosing a method of analysis to resolve these questions, I made a number of assumptions based on my understanding of art and visual representations as systems of

communication or visual languages:

- 1) The "Sxwaixwe" mask is a bounded system and, by definition as a system, it has a structure.
- 2) A structure implies relationships of parts to whole and parts to parts.
- 3) These relationships are governed by rules, including rules of reproduction.
- 4) A Native identification of a artifact as a "Sxwaixwe" is 'true', i.e. an emic viewpoint is valid as far as the identification of an item as belonging or not to the set "Sxwaixwe". This does not mean that the characteristics that have been identified to contrast the masks to each other have emic reality. Only fieldwork with Native users and/or producers of the Sxwaixwe could check the emic validity of these analytical components.

Once these assumptions were made, a method of analysis based on structural linguistics and its paradigmatic approach (C5) was chosen as useful in this case. It became possible therefore to list as many mask characteristics and variations (features) as could be identified and then to proceed to analyze each mask as to its having or not having each feature (+ or -). This allowed me to see repeating patterns (paradigms) and to establish typologies and diagnostic flowcharts for the various mask types (see 3.3 below). I took a systematic differentiation of a particular item, or group of items, from others as evidence of an identity of form for

this item or group of items. Each new item added to the data set helped refine this process of identification (C6).

2. CARVING AND DRESSING THE SXWAIXWE

Design does not refer to form alone, but to the achieving of harmony or perfect balance of form and its context. For example, a mask is part of the greater whole, the ritual for which it was created. In a dance performance, the form of the mask may be related to the movements or gestures of the dancer, the rhythm of the accompanying music, or the words of the song. Moreover, the mask is only part of a whole costume. Alone, a mask is without context, divorced from its artistic premise (Reid 1987:220-21).

This analysis of the Sxwaixwe mask and its costume elements begins with an overview of what is known about Salish decorative art, and more particularly, with techniques of engraving, carving and sculpting wood (C7). For the Salish, 'art' did not exist as a discrete category. Nevertheless a large range of items, both ceremonial and secular, were produced with form or decoration displaying an aesthetic sensibility not necessary to their utility.

Utilitarian objects too were frequently decorated: fish clubs, combs, and spindle whorls provide the best and most prolific examples. The creatures depicted on such objects are assumed to relate to the supernatural helpers of successful fishermen, and skilled spinners and weavers.
(Macnair et al 1980:40)

Decorated items included textiles, basketry, sculpted and engraved wood, bone, and horn. Most of these techniques were used in the production of the Sxwaixwe costume and mask

and the latter exemplified all forms of Salish wood carving. It is also important to note that the Sxwaixwe mask is one of very few pre-contact Salish artifacts still produced and used by the Salish today (Kew 1981). Its study therefore provides us with a set of items that can be analyzed for changes to techniques of production.

In describing the making of a Sxwaixwe mask, I am basing my observations on the characteristics of Central Coast Salish masks produced prior to 1910. This eliminates curio masks made for the tourist trade, Lummi contemporary masks, and non-Salish derivatives which follow a different form. The restricted set of masks that results from this strategy matches that used by Suttles in his articles (1982, 1983) on the Halkomelem Sxwaixwe. Much of the following ethnographic description is based on information provided by Barnett (1955/1975) in his monograph on the Coast Salish of British Columbia.

...They said, "Now we'll give you this to pay you." So they brought out some clothes and showed him how they were made. The mask was carved of cedar and had six curved horns of iron wood pointing backward. These were made of iron wood and decorated with white swan down placed in bunches, larger ones toward the front and smaller ones in the rear...The pants ...were made of the whole skins of loons and from the mask behind hung strands of mountain goat wool which reached below the knees. With this was carried six flat clam shells tied together as a rattle. They dressed in these and danced for him... (Collected in 1938 from Bob Joe of Sardis by M.W. Smith, quoted in Codere 1948:3)

2.1. Construction of the mask:

The mask is carved from a single piece of wood which may be of maple, elder or cedar (Suttles, 1982:60). It is usually about 60cm high, 30cm wide, 20cm thick and may be quite heavy when worn. The grain usually runs along the vertical axis of the mask. The back is slightly hollowed out to lighten the weight and to shape it to the dancer's forehead for ease of wearing.

2.2. Silhouette of the Mask:

The mask has a distinct 'key-hole' silhouette which distinguishes it from its Kwakiutl, Nootkan, and Puget Sound versions. This 'key-hole' has also been described as a human skull with its long peg eyes in recessed eye sockets, its round wide cranium, its horizontal upper jaw that crosses the whole plane of the mask and its vertical, usually rectangular, pendulous lower jaw with a central vertical stripe, the 'tongue'. This basic silhouette has three variations: 1) a circle slightly flattened in the horizontal plane over a vertical rectangle, 2) a broad oval much flattened on the horizontal plane over a vertical rectangle, and finally 3) a vertical egg shape melded to a vertical rectangular extension (Fig.1). Each type of mask is consistent in the variation it exhibits. The mask has no 'eye' holes for the dancer but rather, has a horizontal slit cut at the bottom edge of the horizontal upper jaw of the

mask. The mask is more of a forehead mask than a face mask when worn.

Overlaid on this human skull form is an animal body, split open along its belly and draped over the surface of the mask, its head constituting the mask's 'nose' (C8). Separate animal heads are added to the top of the mask as 'ears'. Kew has described the Sxwaixwe masks as consisting of:

striking sculptural forms, in which a basic humanoid face is overlaid by non-human attributes. They are material images which parallel the spiritual associations, in the guardian-spirit concept, of human with non-human powers (1980b:11).

2.3. Wood Working Techniques:

The Salish seem to have employed the same wood working tool kit and converted to steel blades as quickly as their northern neighbours.

All the forms of Salish wood working techniques are employed in producing the mask. Engraving, or low relief, decorates the brow and cheeks with details of body parts of the animal splayed over the mask's face. Engraving adds details to the sculpted animals of the mask's ears and nose. High relief sculpting (fully rounded sculpted forms on a flat background) carves the peg eyes and the nose, while full round sculpting gives form to the mask's ears. The surface of the wood is rendered smooth and no blade marks are apparent. It is a recent development that the wood surface is worked so

as to show distinct, parallel rows of knife marks (GM-AA674).

It has been persuasively argued that Salish two-dimensional art, and I include engraving in this category, is characterized by a

form surface, that is, a connected uniform surface whose perimeter is marked by an incised line or by a cut and conjunction with another, lower surface" (Kew 1979:4).

This "elemental, prototypic formline structure" (Macnair et al. 1980:42) is relieved by crescents, U forms, V forms, T or wedge cuts, concentric circles, and parallel lines that act as "donut holes" (Kew 1979:3) to define the negative space of the image (C9). A clear understanding by the carver of this engraving principle seems to distinguish pre- and early historical masks as opposed to curio and early to mid-twentieth century masks (see C-6. Contemporary Salish Sxwaixwe).

Wood working, and hence mask carving, was a male task within traditional Salish culture, though Kew (pers. com. 31/4/1987) has noticed that there were no cultural impediments to women carving for themselves such items as spindle whorls, mat creasers, bracelets, and combs (C10).

2.4. Painting the Mask:

Masks are painted and the even wash of colours used is generally mat (C11) and applied in "flat colours, evenly and

with considerable care" (Wingert 1949a/1969:88). Colour emphasizes the carved elements rather than adding details. One colour is used for each plane of the mask. The usual colours are red for the main body, black or blue for the appendages (nose and ears) and white for the engraved details.

In nearly every example, black or blue is the color of the heads of the birds and/or beasts that serve as nose or horns and the color of the unrecessed surfaces of the face, representing the bird's or beast's body. The eye sockets, incised forms and areas on the face that mark the features of nose-bird or nose-beast are white. The end of the stalks are often, but not always black; and the eye stalks are usually white (Suttles 1982:60) (C12).

Marion Smith was told by a Chilliwack informant that the masks were "painted with one's own paint" which "made the mask one's own" (quoted in Wingert 1949a/1969:15) i.e. the paint chosen expressed a personal experience and ownership while the carving referred to the basic experience and function of the mask. Wingert also remarked that:

although the painting follows the carved forms and picks out surface designs, it was not intended merely to supplement them. Its true purpose, it seems was to express through the colors used and by the very act of applying the paint a personal experience and ownership in an otherwise traditional type of object (1949a/1969:88).

Fraser states that:

the mask was made by a professional sculptor, but the owner painted it himself to accord with and express his visionary experience with the supernatural (1962:286).

If a new mask was painted by its owner rather than by its carver, it might explain the difference in technique and

skill between the painting and carving of some masks. If masks were sometimes repainted during their years of use, or when they changed owners, it would also explain why some masks in the collections seem to have had their paint stripped off. I am not including here the UBC-MOA reproduction masks that were purposely left unpainted (MOA-A6546, MOA-A6812, MOA-A6813) or the one mask repainted by museum staff (VCM-AA2276).

Curio masks (such as the Khahtsalahno masks in the Riveredge Museum) and masks made after 1920 are more often painted in glossy paint and this paint, instead of engraving, is used to add details to the mask. Some contemporary masks (made after 1950?) are 'coloured' with wood stain and then detailed in paint (ROM 971.306.8, BCPM 13884). (see C-6. Contemporary Salish Sxwaixwe).

2.5. The Mask Harness:

The mask is worn tilted back on the forehead so that the dancer can see through the slit or eye holes at the base of the upper jaw. The mask is held on the head by a harness that fits over the head under the hood and the inside edges of the mask are padded. Though Barnett (1955/1975:159) mentions a knob inside the mask and Kew mentions the presence of a strip of leather inside some masks that dancers could grasp in their teeth to stabilize the mask (personal communicate, 1984), I have not found any mask with these parts. However,

even with them, the harness was the main means of support for the mask.

How to construct the harness was a closely guarded secret and was considered part of the specialized knowledge owned by some dancers:

...he even kept secret its inside arrangement and the method of attaching it to the head, least someone else should copy them (Jenness 1955/1979:71)

Partly to maintain this secrecy, and to forestall any 'bewitchment' (Barnett 1955/1975: 158) dancers would 'dress' or assemble their masks within the curtained enclosure provided for them (Barnett 1955/1975, Pl. XVII). Seeing a mask or a dancer within this enclosure could entail danger and harm for the viewer (Jenness 1955/1979:72) (C13).

2.6. Components of the Mask Assemblage:

The mask was only one element of the assemblage that covered the head, shoulders, and neck of the dancer: in the following description of these other elements, I have assigned them names (bundle, stiff wands, collar, etc.) that may not accord with their Native names, if they have any, but which will make speaking of them easier. Some of them (wands, collar, hood) follow usages already established by Kew (1980a), Suttles (1982) and MacNair et al. (1980).

2.6.1. Holes in Top and Side of Mask.

The mask rim is pierced by a series of holes within which other components are inserted. The number and placement of these holes depends on the number and kind of other components that make up a specific mask assemblage. A mask has a large central hole in the base and top of its rim. These are used to skewer the mask onto a rod stuck into the ground while it is being 'dressed' and while the dancer changes into the rest of his costume. Smaller holes on each side of the centre hole in the top rim are for the stiff wands, feather wands, and sometimes the single feathers. Holes in the side rims of the mask are used to sew on the collar (C14).

2.6.2. The Bundle:

A cylindrical bundle of rushes (NMC VII-X-1274) is bound together and tied horizontally to the top of the mask, just behind the above mentioned holes. Sometimes a wood skewer is added to the rushes to stiffen the bundle (MOA A9332). Stuck in it are single feathers, stiff wands and flexible wands. Only these two bundles were found accessioned in museum collections.

MOA A 9332
NMC VII-X-1274

2.6.3. Stiff Wands:

The stiff wands are a pair of wood or bone rods sharpened on one end and either plain or carved on the other. These carvings can be either geometric or representational of birds or beasts. One rod is inserted into each horizontal end of the rush bundle at the back of the mask. They may be inserted at anything from an almost vertical to an almost horizontal angle. They are sometimes used to stiffen the top short ends of the collar which are tied to them.

An unusual pair of stiff wands are part of a mask assemblage held at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH 16/9222a). Each wand consists of a flat piece of wood carved out in the shape of the extended neck and side view of the head of a beast. They are painted red and blue and have recessed carved wells on their front sides for the (presumed) inclusion of some other substance (shell?). These inclusions are now missing. The carving consists of a flat silhouette and is unusual in its abstraction. Stiff wands represented in museum collections are:

AMNH 16/9222a:	Lower Fraser, 1903, carved wood, painted, beasts.
BCPM 8502-3:	Chemainus, 1957, carved wood, beasts.
FMNH 85464 a&b:	Cowichan, 1903-4, carved bone, birds.
FMNH 85465:	Cowichan, 1903-4, carved whale bone, birds.
JHH 1:	Kuper Island, c. 1870, wood, plain.
KM 979.1.90:	Comox, n.d., wood, plain.
MJ 1:	n.d., carved wood, painted, beasts.
MOA A 9333:	Quamichan, 1970. wood, plain.
NMC VII-X-1274:	1925, wood, plain.

2.6.4. Flexible wands:

Some mask assemblages use flexible wands, a dozen or more of which are inserted into the bundle to bob and weave during the dance. Suttles conjectures that these may once have been made of sea lion whiskers or flexible wood or wire (1982:63). Barnett describes backward pointing wooden spines with tufts of eagle down on the ends (1955/1975:158). I have seen a set of 13 slim carved wooden rods with extensions of baleen in their thicker end. These extensions were then inserted in the bundle and served as 'springs'. Some of these rods are carved with spirals or bands of circles; others were plain. All were decorated with swan down puffs and red ribbon (NMC VII-X-1272). Another set of 11 wands (MOA A9334a-k) consisted of lengths of wire with cotton wool tied in sections along each wire.

MOA A 9334 a-k
NMC VII-X-1272

2.6.5. Feather Wands:

Very early on, certainly by the time that Curcis photographed three dancers in Cowichan (1912), Sxwaixwe dancers had adopted Chinese feather dusters made of bundles of red rooster hackles on wooden sticks (Suttles 1982:63). Incorporated into the mask assemblage, these are inserted vertically into the upper rim of the mask and can consist of a single, central feather wand up to three equally spaced along

the upper rim of the mask. The feathers could be of natural male rooster colour, or dyed various colours.

KM 979.1.90ab: single wand attached to mask.

MOA A9333a-c: one natural coloured and two dyed feather wands.

VCM 973.6-12: multicoloured feather dusters attached to mask.

2.6.6. Single Feathers:

Large single eagle or swan (C15) feathers are inserted into the bundle to replace or complement the feather wands. Possible combinations include a single feather between two feather wands and six single eagle feathers arrayed as a fan without other feather decorations (Barnett 1955/1975:158). No single feathers were represented in the museum collections investigated.

2.6.7. Collar:

The collar (Barnett calls it a "stiff neck shield" (1955/1975:158)) is a "semicircular ruff of stiff feathers, evenly trimmed" (Suttles 1982:57) worn over the chest and under the mask proper to frame its lower and two side edges. It is attached to the mask by being sewn to it through its side holes and, for some masks, by being tied to the stiff wands.

The collar's feather base is sewn together using rush matting techniques. The same raised ridges occur on the feather vanes as do on rushes when they are crimped after a

cedar fiber cord has been threaded through them.

Some collars are made of trimmed feathers only; others are faced with fabric which may be plain, plaid, striped, or patchwork. This fabric facing either covers the feather base completely or only in an arc, over the collar half closest to the mask.

The collar fabric is sometimes embroidered with thread, beads, or dressmakers' tinsel in a variety of motifs that include detached flowers with leaves and stems, geometric patterns, 'fleurs-de-lis', and more recently, snakes, dragons (Jilek 1982:96p) and motifs from Cowichan sweaters such as griffins and snakes (Margaret Meikle, pers. com. 15/11/84).

Suttles' hypothesis that the ruff was once "simply a fan of stiff feathers cut evenly around the perimeter" (1982:63) is supported by an early photograph (Curtis 9-114) which shows such a plain collar. Recently, Simon Charlie has produced a mask with a woven cedar bark strip collar (GM-AA674).

Collars represented in museum collections include:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| AMNH 16/9222a | Plain collar of sewn and trimmed feathers of dark colour. |
| BCPM 13884 | Plain trimmed feather base of dark brown feathers. |
| FMNH 85480 | Trimmed feather base attached behind a fabric collar so that only the tips of the feathers protrude. Grey, black, white, and rust pin-striped semi-circle of fabric edged with two rows of beige and rust upholstering fringe applied to feather base. Nine equidistant swan down tufts are applied along the outer edge of the feather ruff. |

- GM AA674 Woven strips of red cedar bark
- KM 979.1.90ab Feather base attached behind badly damaged fabric collar. Fabric seems to be embroidered with zigzag and floral designs.
- MAI Ec 746 Alternating sets of light and dark feathers with their tips trimmed attached to a narrow band of dark fabric that covers their quills. Five light coloured reflective disks sewn on to the fabric at equal intervals near the feather/fabric edge. Colours unknown.
- MOA A9330 Feather base attached behind fabric collar so that only tips of feathers protrude. Floral design of flowers, leaves, and stems embroidered in red, yellow, and green floss.
- NMC VII-X-1268 Feather base attached behind fabric collar so that only tips of feathers protrude. Yellow canvas cut in semi-circle and ornamented with a row of blue commercial dressmakers' ornaments, stamped tin foil elements, swan down puffs, and ribbon streamers. Backed with a printed cotton lining.

2.7. Components of the Costume:

2.7.1. Hood:

The mask harness and the dancer's head, shoulders and upper back are covered with a rectangular piece of fabric draped over the head after the mask is put on. It is tied under the chin so that the front corners of the fabric cover the shoulders and the upper chest. The back portion then covers the dancer's back to the waist. Suttles has hypothesized that this hood

may once have been of strands of mountain goat wool but this too has recently been of cloth, seemingly of no particular color (1982:63).

Of all the costume elements, the hood and the collar

seem to allow for the most idiosyncratic and individualistic decoration. There were no hoods found in any of the collections investigated, but all the performance photographs show them.

2.7.2. Tunic:

In all the photographs viewed, the dancer was wearing a garment covering the torso. Always white, loose cut, and full to the knees, this garment sometimes seemed to be a sleeved tunic, square cut, with sleeves not inset. Others seemed to be made of cloth as a sleeveless tunic to the knees (Jilek 1982:96p), a plain, loose fitting man's shirt, or a sleeved smock with a separate yoke (Curtis 9-116). This smock had only a head opening and was closed in front below the neckline. In some photographs, the dancer added a blanket wrapped around his chest over the cloth smock and fastened at each shoulder (H.I. Smith 1928, MOA-A295, Pmp 14973-76, WSH photo n.d.). This blanket is either a woven 'Salish' blanket or one of European make.

No tunics were found in the museum collections visited.

2.7.3. Feather Fringe:

The most striking part of the body covering is a long (2 meters at least) strand of individual large feathers attached by their quills to a long cedar fiber rope and spiraled diagonally around the body from the shoulders to the hips to

form 3 to "4 rows of overlapping swan feathers from chest to knees" (Barnett 1955/1975:158). Older pictures show this fringe to be very full with many spiraling rows and closer spaced feathers but newer costumes have a much sparser fringe. These rows are usually described as being white swan feathers (Barnett 1955/1975:158), yet there are also descriptions of the dancers' tunics being "covered with parallel rows of black and white feathers" (.....c.1965:43). Boas (1894b:455) also mentions a completely feathered dress.

Not all of the groups seem to have used the feather fringe, according to Barnett, the Klahuse and Slaiamen wore a "skirt of glistening white grass" (1955/1975:170) and the Squamish wore a buckskin skirt (1955/1975:177). Jenness (1955/1979:72) hypothesizes a proto-historic 'apron'. This 'skirt' or 'apron' may be what is portrayed in the representations of Sxwaixwe carved on grave figures and poles. (See C-4 Salish Non-Mask Sxwaixwe).

Three feather fringes are held in museum collections.
They are:

MOA A9336 a-f
NMC VII-X-1273
NMC VII-X-1275

2.7.4. Pants:

Pants were not worn by the Salish before contact with Europeans. Early photographs of dancers where the legs can be seen (Curtis 9-116, Curtis 9-326) do not show any pants. The

Musqueam practice pictures of 1949 show leggings being worn over pants but the most recent photographs I have (Jilek 1982:96p) of a performance at Musqueam in 1978 show the dancers with bare legs covered with leggings. Possibly, pants are an optional part of the costume dependent on the weather.

2.7.5. Leggings:

Leggings, covering the leg from the knee to the ankle, are generally worn on bare legs. The ethnographies describe them as being of loon skin (Codere 1948:3) or downy swan breast skin attached to a foundation of either woven or sewn rushes (Barnett 1955/1975:158, Suttles 1982:57, W.A. Newcombe to Jenness 1955/1979:72). Leggings made of cotton batting sewn on to rush matting and trimmed with patterned cloth are also found. Some of these are trimmed with tufts of coloured ribbons.

Another form of modern leggings foregoes the down completely and is made of velveteen or felt embroidered in motifs to match the collar. Examples of thread embroidery only appear in modern photographs.

Also mentioned in the ethnographies are goat wool calf bands for the Squamish (Barnett 1955/1975:177), goat wool leggings for the Katzie (Jenness 1955/1979:72), and "woven goat wool leggings trimmed with cedar-bark tassels or, occasionally, with rushes and down" for the Saanich (Jenness

1955/1979:91). No examples of these were extant but two pairs of woven wool leggings and one pair of knitted ones were found. The knitted wool leggings could not have been made prior to 1850 because the Salish learned to knit only after sheep were introduced to the coast by Europeans (Meikle 1987:7).

The leggings represented in museum collections are:

- MAI Ec 746 Clemclemaluts, 1935, swan skin backed with
sewn rushes.
- MAI 18/8822 Cowichan, 1935, swan skin backed with twined
rushes and cloth.
- MOA A6888a,b Cowichan, 1958, knitted red and blue wool.
- MOA A9335a,b Quamichan, 1970, tule rush mat backed with
cotton batting and trimmed with wine velvet.
- NMC VII-G-336a,b Nanaimo, 1929, woven diamond pattern in red,
yellow, green, white and navy commercial yarn
and natural goat wool.
- NMC VII-X-1269a,b before 1925, swan down on shredded bark
mat, ornamented with blue, green and pink
ribbon.
- Johnson & Bernick 1986:17, Musqueam, woven black and white
wool in 'sxwaixwe eyes' pattern. " Wendy was
wanting an experiment with leggings, and we
were looking at this design on leggings from say 100
years ago, and it was so fine, and my techniques
weren't...So she said, "Do your own design, then". And
I wanted diamonds. And it turned out to look like
sxwaixwe eyes" (Rita Louise, quoted in Johnson &
Bernick 1986:17) (C16).

1s2

2.7.6. Anklets:

The dancers tie deer hoof anklets to their ankles when dancing (Barnett 1955/1975:158, Suttles 1982:57). These anklets are identical to those used by modern spirit dancers.

The deer hoofs are attached to plain leather bands, or embroidered or beaded cloth bands. These are sometimes decorated to match the leggings and the collar. A number of plain leather anklets can be found in the museum collections but I included in the data set only those that I could identify as belonging to a Sxwaixwe costume. These are:

NMC VII-G-162, 163, 164 Songhees, 1890's, deer hoofs strung on thongs and attached to leather bands backed by red cloth.

NMC VII-G-425a,b Cowichan, 1955, deer hoofs strung on thongs and attached to black cloth bands beaded in blue, green, yellow flower and leaf patterns.

2.7.7. Arm Bands:

No ethnographic reference to armbands was found but one set is held at the NMC as part of its collection (NMC VII-X-1270a,b). They consist of swan down on corduroy, ornamented with red ribbons and tied on with hide thongs.

2.7.8. Bib:

Another piece of costuming that is not mentioned in the ethnographies but does occur in two of the photographs collected is what I call the bib. This 'bib' consists of an additional layer of fringe under the center of the collar, over the chest and covering the feather fringe. In one photograph, this bib is made of shredded cedar bark (BCPM 13884). In another, it is made of dark feathers (Curtis 9-

114).

2.7.9. Shoes:

In two of the Curtis photographs (9-116, 9-326), the dancers are barefoot. In some of the 1949 Musqueam practice photographs (MOA-A80 to MOA-A85, MOA-A295) one of the dancers is wearing a pair of 'cowboy' boots while the dancers illustrated in Jilek (1982:96p) all have soft-soled moccasins on. It would seem that foot coverings are also a post contact addition to the costume and that the dancer decides what to wear.

2.8. Make-up:

Some dancers uttered magical words and painted their toes, hands, and faces just before putting on their costumes as a means of preventing "bewitchment which might cause accidents during the performance" (Barnett 1955/1975:158). This seems to be related to the need to protect oneself from the 'power/danger' of the mask. What kind of paint was used is not specified but it seems reasonable to think that it was ochre.

2.9. Props and Musical Instruments:

2.9.1. Bough:

To 'wash' a person who is xe'xe, the Sxwaixwe holds an evergreen bough in his left hand. Most ethnographers do not identify the tree species but Suttles (1982:57) mentions a hemlock bough, Badner (1966:30) a cedar bough and Kew (1980b:10) specifies a red cedar bough.

2.9.2. Shell Rattle:

When dancing, a Sxwaixwe keeps time with a pecten shell rattle that he holds in his right hand (Barnett 1955/1975:158). This rattle is made of pairs of shells, strung back to back through a hole made in them, onto cedar root or with hoops. Some hoops are padded with cloth wrapped around them to form a handle for the dancer to grasp.

Not all groups seem to have used the shell rattle. Barnett mentions the use of a globular wooden rattle by the Klahuse, Slaiamen, and Squamish (1955/1975:170, 177). The shell rattles were also used by the Kwakiutl, especially in conjunction with the Kwekwe mask (see C-5.1 Kwakiutl). I have included in the data set only those shell rattles identified as Salish in the collections. Pecten shell fragments occur in archaeological remains and are dealt with in 4.6.2. Archaeological.

I also included 3 horn rattles and 1 wood rattle (see C-4.5. Rattles) in the artifact data set because they are described as displaying representations of Sxwaixwe.

The pecten shell rattles in museum collections include:

MOA A9331 made of a double cedar root hoop wrapped with red print cloth along part of the hoops and strung with 13 pierced pecten shells. NMC VII-X-1271

VCM AA-1525

VCM AA-2279

2.9.3. Whistles:

Duff (1952b:126) describes the dancers as making "a high squeaking noise like the note caused by blowing on the edge of a stretched blade of grass". No whistles were found associated with Sxwaixwe masks, nor was it possible to ascertain just how this whistling sound was made.

2.9.4. Box:

Salish Sxwaixwe myths tell us that "he placed the mask in the basket and placed it all away from the house, safe in the woods" (Codere 1948:3) and, "she went to get the best blanket from her mother. She wrapped up the mask and hung it on the trees" (Codere 1948:4).

Ethnographers tell us that when not worn, the costume and masks are usually put away (Suttles 1982:62). Wingert (1949a/1969:7) quotes Waterman (1930:49) as saying that, for

the Puget Sound area, ceremonial objects, when not in use, were hidden in the forest at a distance from the villages and Kew has confirmed that masks were sometimes left in trees to be washed by the rain for four days before being wrapped up and stored upside down in a wooden box made for this purpose. They were stored face down so that nothing could fall on them and make them dirty (Kew, pers. com. 31/3/1984).

Only 2 Sxwaixwe storage boxes were found. The UBC-MOA box (MOA A9337) is a plain wooden box with leather latch and hinges, but the NMC box (NMC VII-G-1) is painted with a Northern Northwest Coast design. This design, painted in red and black, could not be identified because of darkening and wear.

2.9.5. Drum:

While the Sxwaixwe danced, women of the families that owned the right to Sxwaixwe sang and drummed. Describing a dance in Sanetch, Barnett (1955/1975) describes how

Women with sticks sat around this (dancing) space on the ground ready to beat time on planks laid before them (158)...While the dancers performed their parts, the women, including the dancers' wives, drummed vigorously, and the donor or his representative all the while sang his song and shook his gobular rattle (159).

Suttles describes a box drum being used and says that it

was another piece of decorated ritual paraphernalia. A Lummi man who saw one used at a

Quamichan ... potlatch said that it had animals on the front of it but he could not make out what they were (1976:77-78).

2.10. Men and Women and Producing the Sxwaixwe:

As seen above, the typical historical Sxwaixwe dancer's costume is complex. The dancer dresses in a tunic, feather fringe, leggings, anklets, armbands, bib, and shoes. His mask is assembled with bundle, stiff wands, flexible wands, feather wands, single feathers, collar, hood and harness. He holds an evergreen bough in one hand and a pecten shell rattle in the other and he may be holding a whistle reed in his mouth (Fig. 2).

I have discussed how both men and women shared in and enjoyed the privileges of owning and using the Sxwaixwe and how they both fully participated in all phases of its enactment. Men and women also shared in the production of the mask and costume. For the Salish, wood was processed by men and fibers were processed by women. As an extension of these traditional tasks, the Sxwaixwe mask and costume is jointly made by men and women who have the right to it.

Some accounts say that only those men who had the right to Sxwaixwe could carve the mask, others say that as long as the owner had the right he could ask any carver to make it for him (Jenness 1955/1979: 71-2), while others place the carving of the mask within that group of ritual tasks that one is required to ask others to do for oneself (Kew, pers

com. 31/3/1984). In any case, masks were not carved often:

in each family perhaps no more than once or twice a generation, to go with a daughter as part of her dowry (Suttles 1982:63).

Men also carved the flexible and stiff wands that make up the mask assemblage and rigged the harness that held the mask on.

Women were most likely responsible for making and assembling the collar, the tunic, the deer hoof rattles, and the leggings (C17). All these costume pieces require women's specific technical skills of sewing, twining, weaving, knitting, embroidery, and/or beading. The issue is not so clear for the feather fringe. This string sized cedar fiber cording, with its large feathers spliced to it so as to form a free swinging fringe pinned over the tunic in a series of spirals around the body, could certainly be made by women. Cedar fiber twining was a skill all women learned before marriage and yet, the splicing of the feathers resembles so much the fletching of arrows, a male technical skill. Maybe, the answer lies in both men and women combining their skills to produce this item.

3 - SXWAIXWE MASK TYPOLOGY

3.1. List of Mask Names in Ethnographic Sources:

By searching through the ethnographies, 13 lists of names were found of different Sxwaixwe masks for a total of 22 different names. These were: bear, beaver, buzzard, clown, 'coon, ducks (generic), eagle, fish hawk, fish spirit (SKWENE'LEC), ghost, mink, owl, raven, sawbill, snake, spring salmon, thunder, thunderbird, two headed snake, wolf, half-sxwaixwe, and 'etc'. The occurrence of each name in the various lists was charted (Chart 1).

Only those lists which gave a location for the use of the names were retained for this study. This reduced the number of lists to 6 and the number of mask names to 13 (Chart 2). The number of names were further reduced as some names were found to be synonymous, for example: the word for owl, human soul and ghost is the same in Salish (Kew 15/11/84, pers. com.). Therefore it seemed reasonable to assume that the owl and the ghost masks are the same. A similar argument can be constructed for the snake and the two headed snake and the spring salmon and fish spirit (C18), while the clown ('quiniye', literally 'hairy one' (Suttles 1982:63)) and the bear can be considered the same as the latter is described as wearing a bear skin when performing (Suttles 1982:63). The eagle and thunderbird also form a probable pair according to Jenness (1955/1979:91).

Once a list of the most usual names was compiled, it became possible to sort all the Salish masks with key hole silhouettes. Because a major difference in size, shape, surface detail and colour seemed to occur with some masks produced later than 1910, these masks were put aside for later study. The resulting sample for this first analysis consisted of 28 masks collected between 1840 and 1910 in the Central Coast Salish area. Following Suttles (1982), I have named these 'Halkomelem' masks. I then proceeded to look at each mask to determine how many attributes each had and how these could vary from one mask to another. I looked at shape and size of cranium, ears, nose, brow, cheeks, eye sockets, pupils (the eye stalks themselves), eyelids, upper jaw, lower jaw, teeth, colour, and proportion of length to width, et cetera. I ended up with 90 different variables or components (Chart 3) which I charted for each mask. I then looked to see if any components co-occurred systematical and if any components were in complementary distribution, i.e. if one occurred only where the other did not. These two strategies allowed me to reduce the number of variables considered to a few essential ones since components did seem to occur as sets and these sets appeared complete and discrete relative to each other, i.e. there was no overlap of sets. By this is meant that one type of nose animal was associated with a certain brow decoration, cheek decoration, eye socket shape, colour, etc. The advantages to this type of componential analysis are that a relatively small number of components can

be analyzed as + or - features and that the results can be presented as diagnostic paradigms or sets of identifying features.

3.2. Types of Halkomelem Masks:

Analyzing the masks according to their components resulted in the following observations: They all share a key-hole or skull-like shape. They all have peg eyes, a horizontal upper jaw and a vertical lower jaw. Most have paired ears (it is not clear in some photos if the missing ears have broken off or if they were never there). There are 8 main types of Sxwaixwe masks in the sample with a limited range of variations within each type. The most important identifying component is the nose of the mask since all the other mask components seem to derive from it. This results in part from the nose of the Sxwaixwe mask being the head of the animal draped over its surface (Fig.3) This will become clearer as each type is described in turn (C19).

Having determined that there are 8 types of masks in my sample, I went back to the ethnographies and to Suttles' analytical work on the Halkomelem Sxwaixwe (1982) to see if names and descriptions could be found that would match the ones I had. Indeed, 7 of my types closely matched Suttles' 'Old Halkomelem' types, i.e. sawbill, raven, eagle, ghost, snake, beaver, and clown. An eighth, the 'mink', Suttles describes but does not consider a distinct type. Finally,

there were descriptions of two other types, half-sxwaixwe and salmon, for which I have no examples. The resulting Halkomelem mask sample totaled 28 masks (Appendix Two).

Before describing the mask types in detail, the animals that occur as nose and ears need to be identified. In Salish iconography, birds, beasts, and fish are rendered in a fairly conventional way, almost as generic representations (Kew 1979:17-19). Birds have beaks, beasts have flat snouts, and fish have blunt, rounded heads. Birds and beasts are sometimes crested and the beaks of birds can vary in shape: sharply curved and pointed (raptorial), blunted and angled at 90 degrees (duck), or straight, pointed and open. Beast, or "'animals' may include reptiles and amphibians as well as mammals" (Suttles 1983:75) Only bird and beast heads were represented on the sample masks. A fish tail sometimes occurs as a tongue on some Sxwaixwe statuary but no masks in the original sample of 28 had any fish representations on them. I nevertheless included the salmon as a mask type since it occurs as such in the ethnographies and some modern masks do depict it (see C-6 Contemporary Salish Sxwaixwe) (C20).

3.2.1 Sawbill:

The sawbill, a crested duck which occurs on the British Columbia coast, is also known as a Merganser or fish duck. There were 12 sawbill masks in the original sample and they were identical in all respects except for 3 variations in the

animals represented on the ears. I have named these Sawbill A, B, and C. Their shared characteristics include:

- NOSE: a downward facing bird head, crested, blunted beak with a 90 degree downward angle. This is identified as a sawbill duck (Suttles 1982).
- BROW: 4 V shapes forming a bird tail, flanked by bird legs and feet.
- CHEEKS: bird wing curving upwards, its shoulder represented by a crescent, and its feathers and wing tips defined by a split U and 3 wedges.
- EYE SOCKETS: circular socket with a joining arch forming a 3 lobed scallop shape.
- PUPILS: long (at least long enough to protrude beyond the plane of the mask) and sticking straight out.
- EYELIDS: circular, following the shape of the eye socket.
- UPPER JAW: undefined beyond the change in plane between it and the lower jaw.
- LOWER JAW: straight outside edges, slightly shorter than the cranium in length.
- TEETH: absent.

The ear variations consist of (Fig. 4):

- TYPE A: sawbill duck head with 90 degree angle to beak.
- TYPE B: raptorial bird head with a pointed beak sharply curved down.
- TYPE C: beast head with square snout and gaping mouth.

Looking at the various shapes engraved on the face of the mask, seeing them as negative spaces defining the area bounded by the edges of the mask and then relating these to the head of the bird which is the mask's nose, it can be seen that they constitute the body of the nose bird. Clearly, this bird has had its belly slit and has been applied onto the

underlying human skull shape: wings coming out the sides of the nose and wrapping up over the cheeks, and legs and tail on the forehead. The face 'decoration' of the other masks can be read in a similar fashion (Fig. 5).

3.2.2. Raven:

The raven mask's most striking attributes are its large humped nose-bird and its marked sense of verticalness. It is also characterized by two different ways of engraving wings on the cheek area. These different ways produce two complementary variations of raven masks, i.e. they seem to be alternate but equivalent ways of representing the nose bird's wings (Fig. 6). I have named them Raven A and Raven B (C21 - Fig. 7).

- EARS: bird heads with open curved, sharp beaks.
- NOSE: high relief bird head with open straight pointed beak which takes up all of the width of the mask. Beak opening is eye slit for dancer.
- BROW: 4 straight vertical lines flanked by bird legs and feet.
- CHEEKS: TYPE A) stylized bird wing with 2 split U's and a straight leading edge on the bottom.
TYPE B) stylized bird wing with crescent shape surrounding eye socket and parallel crescents facing down at 90 degrees to it.
- EYE SOCKET: A) lenticular and straight
B) circular, separate.
- PUPILS: shorter than sawbill, straight out from mask.
- EYELIDS: A) lenticular and straight
B) circular.
- UPPER JAW: bird mouth.

LOWER JAW: short, narrowing or straight.
TEETH: absent.

3.2.3 Eagle:

There is only one kind of eagle mask and all of the examples are very similar. This mask's most striking feature is the series of concentric horizontal crescent shapes facing up and engraved on its cheeks (Fig.8).

EARS: beast heads, square snouts, open mouths.
NOSE: raptorial bird with sharp, downward curved beak, bird head facing down.
BROW: a pair of t-shapes with a complex set of vertical and horizontal interconnected shapes between them. If these are ignored, or seen as the 'hole in the donut' then the two bird feet facing each other over the brow are clearly visible.
CHEEKS: series of concentric horizontal crescent shapes facing up and surrounding the outer edge of the eye socket.
EYE SOCKET: lenticular, straight, separate.
PUPILS: short, straight out.
EYELIDS: lenticular, straight, double.
UPPER JAW: undefined.
LOWER JAW: short, wide, slight narrowing.
TEETH: absent.

3.2.4. Ghost:

The ghost mask retains most of the explicit human skull like characteristics of the unadorned mask (Fig. 9). It shares its cranium proportions with the snake, mink and

beaver masks and is the simplest of all the masks. It seems this mask ceased to be used in Musqueam "sometime ago because people feared their numbers would be decimated if they used it too frequently" (Della Kew 1972, quoted in UBC-MOA A6812 catalogue notes). It was considered too 'dangerous' or 'powerful' (Kew 1984, pers. com.). Others have said that it was only used for funerals (Ed Sparrow, quoted in Kew slide set notes, c.1980) or for memorials (Kew 1980b, label text for UBC-MOA A6116).

EARS: bird heads with closed, sharp, down turned beak, "raptorial bird" (for UBC-MOA A9329, the birds are identified as barn owls).

NOSE: triangular nose shape with inverted 'v' nostrils. The nose of the ghost mask lacks a secondary non-human feature but suggests the nasal structure of a human skull (Kew 1980b, label text for UBC-MOA A6116).

BROW: central curved line flanked by twin double arcs facing up at the base of the ears.

CHEEKS: 'laugh lines' or "sweeping lateral curves" (Wingert 1949a/1969:61).

EYE SOCKETS: lenticular, straight, connected, sweeping off side of mask.

PUPILS: long, diverging slightly.

EYELIDS: lenticular, straight, double.

UPPER JAW: recessed ridge with alternating vertical bands of light and dark paint, or else carved vertical bands.

LOWER JAW: long and narrow, straight sides, "bird like claws at the break of the jaw" (Kew 1980b, label text for UBC-MOA A6116).

TEETH: see upper jaw.

3.2.5 Beaver

The beaver mask is most readily distinguishable by its two curved 'incisors' joining the upper and lower jaws on both sides of the central band of the 'tongue' (Fig. 10). It shares its cranial proportions with the ghost, snake, and mink masks, most closely resembling the ghost mask and like the ghost mask, it is distinguished by 'laugh lines' on its cheeks and a triangular nose but its paired nostrils are separate, almost parallel curved lines rather than a joined inverted 'V'.

- EARS: crested bird heads with open truncated 'sawbill'-type beaks.
- NOSE: triangular shape, apex on top, two separate vertical curved nostrils.
- BROW: horizontal line crossing full width of brow terminating in four radiating lobes at temples of mask. Six short vertical lines under each ear. A central filled-in crescent flanked by two smaller empty crescents directly under the centre of the vertical line, between the eyes of the mask.
- CHEEKS: 'laugh lines' or "sweeping lateral curves" (Wingert 1949a/1969:61).
- EYE SOCKETS: large, lenticular, downturned, merging over the nose.
- PUPILS: long, straight.
- EYELIDS: lenticular, downturned at outer edge.
- UPPER JAW: plain recessed ledge.
- LOWER JAW: long, narrow.
- TEETH: two curved 'fangs' linking upper and lower jaws at each side of central band of tongue. These teeth are often separate pieces of wood attached to the mask proper.

3.2.6. Snake

The snake mask shares its cranium shape with the ghost, mink and beaver. Its nose is formed by a crested, blunt snouted beast that looks up towards the mask's brow (Fig. 11). Double parallel lines leave the base of this head and curve up along the outer edge of the mask and finish at the base of the 'ears'. These can be read as a snake body, split into two and splayed out onto the surface of the mask. This mask also has a spiral or set of concentric circles in the centre of its brow. It shares this brow treatment with the mink mask.

- EARS: beast head, square snout, vertical nostrils, open mouth, down turned lower jaw.
- NOSE: beast head, crested (single crest or double in inverted V), blunt snout, mouth open, faces up towards brow.
- BROW: spiral or concentric circles.
- CHEEKS: a banded ridge circling the eye sockets from the base of the nose to the base of the bodies of the ear-beasts. This forms a 'sisiutl-like' creature which may account for the 'two-headed snake' name.
- EYE SOCKET: they merge above the nose and run off the top of the head.
- PUPILS: long, slightly divergent.
- EYELIDS: lenticular, straight.
- UPPER JAW: recessed ledge with alternating vertical bars which circle outside of banded ridge on cheeks up to base of ear animals.
- LOWER JAW: narrowing, medium length.
- TEETH: see upper jaw.

3.2.7. Mink

The mink mask is identical to the snake mask except for its nose animal. This is a crestless, upward looking beast head with a blunt snout and upper limbs and paws. These paws reach up to the mask's eye sockets (Fig. 12). Wingert (1949a/1969) has described this mask as having:

The forequarters of a third animal, similar in style and in species to the above two (ears), emerge from the open mouth and form the nose of the mask. The two paws appear to be gripping the edge of the eye rims, as though the small animal were making an effort to pull itself out of the mouth (59-60).

This animated pose, coupled with the general similarity of form, suggests that these animals may possibly have represented the mythical minks so often encountered in Salish sculpture (60, fn 71).

The mink mask displays the same variation of spiral or concentric circle brow decoration as the snake mask and also has what looks like a divided snake body circling its perimeter from the base of the nose to the base of the ear animals.

3.2.8. Clown

The clown mask, or bear mask, was not properly speaking a Sxwaixwe and was not used for cleansing though it did occur in conjunction with the 'real' Sxwaixwe in some performances. There was only one clown at any dance, while real Sxwaixwe must always dance in pairs. It acted more like a 'foolish' or 'imperfect' Sxwaixwe, trying to be a Sxwaixwe but not knowing

quite how to do so. It leaves the dressing tent after the other dancers and re-enters after them as well. Its dance is improper, a burlesque. It teases the other dancers, and sits with or moves through the audience (Kew pers. com. April 1986). It "chases the sxwayxwey, poking at their eyes with a stick, and threatening the women in the audience" (Suttles 1983:78). Stern (1934:157-58) describes Sxwaixwe dancers performing with a "comedian". Suttles (1982:65) speculates that Stern may be referring "to the Musqueam clown" and Kew (pers. com. April 1986) relates how two generations of Musqueam dancers have danced as clowns and a third man is known to have danced 'in drag' wearing a woman's black dress and using a purse as a rattle.

Examples of three clown masks were found. However, the one in the Glenbow Museum Riveredge collection is an Iroquois false face mask with a bear skin attached to it as a hood (RM-R1484.18). Though Kew confirms that the Glenbow False Face mask was worn by a Salish clown dancer (pers. com. April 1986), I have not included it in my formal analysis.

A clown mask of 'Halkomelem' type is held in the UBC Museum of Anthropology collections (MOA A6475) and an other Salish clown is illustrated in a series of British Columbia Provincial Museum photographs (Pmp 1472, Pmp 15438). Barnett (1955/1975:178-79, Pl.XIX, extreme left) says of it that, at the mouth of the Fraser River,

Here too, and here only, a second masked figure participated in the dance - a figure who clowned instead of danced...There was only one such mask (called Kwe'ne'e), and it was owned by kwe'netan, a relative of Chief Jack and Tommy Paul. It resembled the common swaihwe mask in that it had a single bird head projecting from the crown and an 'open mouth'. On the other hand, the face was quite flat and the eyes did not project more than three-quarters of an inch. In behaviour and dress, the character was quite different from the typical swaihwe dancer. He was definitely a clown. He wore a bearskin, and carried a lance with which he pretended to jab at the eyes of the swaihwe dancers. Not being able to see very well, they in good part ignored him, but he pretended to be chased by them and ran into the crowd, creating considerable mirth by his antics. His dressing room was separate from that of the swaihwe dancers.

Kew has said that "just as the clown dancer was a parody of a proper sxwaixwe, so too, the mask is imperfect. It lacks secondary, non-human features" (1980b, label text for UBC-MOA A6475).

A mask described as a "human face" Sxwaixwe is part of the VCM collection (VCM AA 152). Since it was not possible to view it or to get a photograph of it, it is listed in the 'mystery' column of Appendix Two and has not been included in this analysis.

The MOA clown mask has the same general proportions and shape of the Sxwaixwe but it does not have ears or any bird or animal representations on its surface. Instead, it retains the underlying human skull shape with stylized, yet recognizable human mouth, nose and eyes. It even has an extra 'chin' added below the upper jaw ledge and a mouth with teeth

carved under its nose. This makes the lower jaw of the mask appear to be the 'neck' of the human face that appears on the mask (Fig.13). The surface of the mask is smooth without any engraved details other than the toothed mouth. The paint has been applied in a non-representational fashion: a white brow terminating in the wavy upper limit to the eye sockets, dark paint to the bottom of the mask, relieved by parallel stripes crossing the mask horizontally over the cheeks and the bridge of the nose.

It is interesting to note that one of Duff's Upper Stalo informants said that the Sxwaixwe mask originally had a human nose and no horns (1952b:125). See the discussion of Lummi mask Pmp 1444 for a description of another possible clown mask (5.3.1. Lummi A).

3.2.9. Salmon and Half-Sxwaixwe:

Two other masks were mentioned in the ethnographies, the Salmon and half-Sxwaixwe. No mask in the Halkomelem sample could be interpreted as being either one of these masks. A picture of a mask with a fish body and tail replacing the 'tongue' of the mask was found (Shiell 1990:61) but because this mask is a contemporary one it could not be included in my original sample. The image of a fish body and tail as tongue will be addressed in the discussion of house posts, grave figures, and figurines.

Only Jenness (1955/1979:92) mentions the existence of a 'half-Sxwayxwey' owned by a Nanaimo family. He relates that it originated when

A Nanaimo man named gawegen made two masks - one for himself and one for his sister. Every morning the brother and sister put on their masks and walked to a bluff, where they laid them aside and lingered all day. Then at evening they put on their masks again and returned home. Two youths who passed this bluff every day on their way to spear cod saw them and said to one another: "They make no use of their masks. Why don't we buy them with our fishing-gear and fish, and use them as the Musqueam people use their masks. We can make new shuttles and spears for ourselves, and this couple will have fish to eat." So they exchanged.

This half sxwayxwey, however, lacks the merit of the real one. It is hired only in conjunction with the real sxwayxwey to make an even number - two, four, six; and because his status is inferior, the half sxwayxwey dancer emerges from the dressing-room behind the others.

Unfortunately, Jenness does not describe the mask for us.

3.3. Diagnostic Flowchart (Chart 4):

Having identified, listed, and compared the various components of the masks in my sample, sorted the masks into distinct types and confirmed that the nose is the crucial identifying feature, it was now obvious that the various types were variations on a theme. New questions presented themselves: Is it possible to rank the various mask components as to their 'necessity'? At what point does one mask type become another? What are the minimum number of features necessary to the identification of a mask?

What I call a 'Diagnostic Flowchart' for masks produced prior to 1910 evolved from such questions. Though it is built on the characteristics of these early masks, it should in all probability be as accurate for non-mask representations of the Sxwaixwe produced during the same time frame. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this discussion, only masks are being considered.

No masks in the sample had anything but peg eyes and I have taken this to be the minimum defining feature. Later, it will be seen that this feature is common to all Sxwaixwe, no matter when or where produced, as well as to the Kwakiutl Kwekwe and the Nootkan Kwekwe. The second defining feature is the key hole silhouette; if the mask has it, it is Salish and of "Halkomelem" type; if it does not, it is no longer considered within this first model.

The third level of differentiation is the 'nose' of the

mask. Is it an animal or not? If yes, two possibilities present themselves: bird or beast. If not an animal, then two possibilities again present themselves: a triangular or non-triangular nose. At this point, it becomes possible to identify individual types of masks. Starting with the non-triangular nose mask, we have a clown. A yes to 'triangular nose' leads to two possibilities: a yes to 'incisors' and therefore a beaver, or a no to 'incisors' and therefore a ghost. If a beast-nosed mask has paws, it is a mink. If it has none, it is a snake. The diagnostic path for the bird-nosed masks is slightly more complex. Once it is ascertained that the nose animal is a bird, one has to identify which kind: sawbill, eagle, or raven. If eagle, the mask is identified. If raven, then the cheek variations need to be identified, raven type A or raven type B. If sawbill, then the ear animals have to be identified. Is it a bird or a beast? If a beast, then it is a sawbill type C. If a bird, then is it the same as the nose bird? If the same, it is a sawbill type A; if not, it is a sawbill type B. There are no exceptions.

The half-Sxwaixwe or salmon Sxwaixwe were not included in the flowchart because no examples of them were found.

Having deciphered what components make up a Sxwaixwe and how they combine to make the different types of masks, a first question can now be answered: What constitutes a Sxwaixwe and is there a "typical" Sxwaixwe mask?

3.4. The Typical Sxwaixwe Mask

A Sxwaixwe mask is carved out of wood. It has a key-hole silhouette interpreted as a human skull. It has two long, cylindrical pegs, interpreted as eyes, extending forward from the top circular part of the mask. Its lower rectangular extension is interpreted as a pendulous lower jaw or tongue. The horizontal ledge between these two parts is interpreted as an horizontal upper jaw. An animal head, usually a bird, forms its nose and the body of this nose animal forms the mask's cheek, temple and brow features which are engraved into the surface of the mask (the mask would be identifiable without paint). Paired animal heads form the mask's ears. The mask is usually painted in three colours: black or blue, red, and white. The unengraved wood surface is smooth and does not show knife marks. The most common type of mask is the Sawbill.

Of the Sawbills, the variation with sawbill ears is the most numerous, next is the Sawbill with raptorial bird ears, and least common, is the Sawbill with beast ears. I will discuss the possible meaning of these variations when I discuss the iconography of the Sxwaixwe (see D-2 Sxwaixwe as Image of Supernatural Being).

To summarize, from a numerical as well as an ethnographic point of view, the Sawbill mask with the sawbill ears appears to be an ideal type. It is the most numerous in the sample and it is the one most often described in the

ethnographies.

4. SALISH NON-MASK SXWAIXWE

Masks were not the only early-historic Salish artifacts bearing the image of the Sxwaixwe. House posts, both interior and exterior, grave figures, painted grave house fronts, combs, rattles, spoons, miniature masks, and stone bowls have all borne this representation (C22). More contemporary objects have included spirit dancer staves, gavels, house models, model or curio masks, wall plaques, figurines, silk screen prints, 'totem' poles, band letterhead, and finally, a Northwest Coast art store shop window decoration. For the purpose of this first look at non-mask Sxwaixwe, only the early historical examples will be considered.

It would seem that non-mask Sxwaixwe were in use very early on. Of the 26 objects in my data set that have collection dates prior to 1900 (Appendix Three), 10 are masks, 6 are grave posts, 5 are grave figures, 1 is a housepost, 1 is a comb, 2 are horn rattles, and 1 is a grave house painting. Eight of these objects have collection or photography dates prior to 1870. Of these, 1 is a horn rattle, 2 are masks, 1 is a comb, 1 is a grave house painting, 1 is a grave post, and 2 are grave figures. They have proveniences of Yale, Nanaimo, Columbia River and Lummi. Later pieces will come from as far away as the Lillooet River

and Comox. This would seem to indicate that Sxwaixwe representations had been in use long enough by then to be owned and used by the Salish throughout the whole of their territory. Certainly Simon Fraser's journal, written in 1808, "makes repeated reference to zoomorphic carvings in wood observed on mortuary houses and on houseposts, thus documenting that local craftsmen created sculptures in (wood) at least in late prehistoric time" (Borden 1975:160) and that from Spuzzum, at the boundary of the Lower Thompson and the Upper Stalo to Langley,

Fraser's brief but tantalizing observations, made at the very threshold of the Historic Period leave no doubt that the Stalo Indians of the Late Period possessed a well established tradition of wood sculpture and that representative carvings of beasts and men were relatively common (Borden 1975:160).

4.1. House Posts:

Compared to other Northwest Coast Indian groups, the Salish produced few carved interior house posts and, of these, anthropomorphous ones are exceedingly rare. Illustrations of only two interior house posts with representations of Sxwaixwe (AMNH 16/4698, FMNH 18982) were found. Both show a fully costumed figure with a Sxwaixwe mask face. The AMNH pole, collected at Comox in 1898 by H.I. Smith, has this figure as the bottom one of three anthropomorphic beings standing on each others' shoulders. Both its arms are down by its sides and its right hand seems to be holding a pecten shell rattle. A photograph of this

pole still standing (Pmp 1157), shows that it was a central ridge pole support. Carved poles at each end of the ridge pole were also carved with human figures standing over each other. This pole has a strong Kwakiutl flavour with its roundness of features and figures carved out of the pole rather than lying flat on a flat background.

The second pole (FMNH 18982) (Fig. 14) looks much more Salish. The pole has a barrel shape on top, a full figure Sxwaixwe in the middle, and an area of flat planking on the bottom. The Sxwaixwe's right hand is curved up to the bottom of the mask as if it were holding it on. Its left hand holds a pecten shell rattle. There seem to be dots of light paint surrounding the sides and top of the mask, maybe to indicate down covered flexible wands bobbing around the mask. This pole has the general look and proportions of other Salish side wall posts and the carving style is much more like high-relief with deep engraving than in-the-round sculpting.

The large mask, as the center of interest, is depicted with considerable accuracy. The parallel groovings, so characteristic of the surface treatment of this type of mask, are shown by shallow incisions; large round holes suggest that originally pegs may have been inserted in them to depict the customary peg-like eyes; and the upper jaw is undercut to provide the appropriate area of shadow. The feathers worn with the mask are represented at either side by horizontal incisions and above by radiating lines, on which evenly spaced circles describe tufts of down... A series of vertical overlapping incisions represent the feathered tunic, here hanging to the knees over the shapeless form underneath; and the small rattle of pecten shells held in the left hand is clearly shown. The figure stands on a semicircular bracket. (Wingert 1949a/1969:55-6)

This pole was collected in Nanaimo and was given to the Field Museum in 1893 by the Department of Ethnology of the World's Columbian Exposition.

Neither mask face has ears and neither seems to have a nose animal, but the Field Museum pole seems to have a fish tail hanging from its mouth. Might this be a salmon Sxwaixwe?

It may be significant that both of these poles were collected in the northwestern part of Salish territory, close to their Kwakiutl neighbours. There does exist what might be a Kwakiutl Sxwaixwe house post, which is discussed later with the other non-Salish Sxwaixwe.

4.2 Grave Figures:

Commemorative, funerary figures were placed on most graves of male and female adult Salish (Teit 1906:273, quoted in Wingert 1949a/1969:38-9). "Human effigies roughly carved in wood were also sometimes placed near by (the grave box) similar to those found among the Thompson" (Hill-Tout 1902:53). These took many forms, from 'portraits' of the deceased to representations of family prerogatives or supernatural encounters between ancestors and their spirit helpers. Among them, Sxwaixwe representations are numerous and of various forms.

Of the 12 Sxwaixwe grave figures that were found, only one did not have a photograph and though it is listed in my

inventory, it will not be discussed stylistically.

Ten of the 12 figures have collection or photography dates of before 1900 (see Appendix Three). Five were collected on Vancouver Island (Comox 3, Nanaimo 2), one at Lummi, and five were from the Interior (Lillooet River 4, Fraser River 1) (C23). Regarding one figure at Esilao and another at Ruby Creek which represented men in Sxwaixwe masks, Duff (1952b:51) tells us that:

Informants were not clear as to whether these represented individuals who had owned the sxwaixwe or individuals rich enough to hire sxwaixwe dancers. Most of the Ruby Creek figures were carved by a man named .kq.ʷliʔ.. from Scowlitz, who died about seventy years ago. (c.1880, L.D.)

All the grave figures with bodies are naked though some seem to have tatters of clothing still on them. Some have no 'ears', some have a central one, and some have two. Sometimes, one of the figure's hands is holding the bottom of the tongue suggesting a mask over a face. Sometimes the hands are down beside the body suggesting that the mask is the face. Sometimes the face exhibits only peg eyes, pendulous tongue and some parallel horizontal grooves around the eyes suggesting that there is no mask. Many of the figures are objects in a series or near twins of each other: AMNH 16/4693 and AMNH 16/4694, AMNH 16/7075 and Pmp 11405 (collection notes for these say that they were but two of a line of figures facing the Lillooet River), and Pmp 11410 and Pmp 31200.

Furthermore, there seems to be three main types of these figures:

- 1) those with rectangular mask faces and only one ear animal:

Pmp 1158, Pmp 11405, AMNH 16/7075 (Fig. 15)

- 2) those with almost human faces: Pmp 31200, Pmp 11410 (Fig. 16)

- 3) those with more standard, key-hole mask shapes: AMNH 16/4693, AMNH16/4694, Pmp 11446 a & b, BMA IV A 2323.

Speaking of AMNH 16/7075, Wingert (1949a/1969:51) says:

All details of the sxwaixwe mask are given: peg eyes, animal-head nose, protruding tongue, and such details of costume as the surmounting feathers. A curious feature is that only one animal head is carved on top instead of the usual two. The detailed carving of the mask contrasts with the simplified handling of the body and indicates the greater importance of that part of the figure.

The Berlin figure (BMA IV A 2323) is especially interesting. It is a naked humanoid body with a keyhole shape head, twin bird head ears, and the left hand raised up to the tongue which is carved as a fish tail. This may actually be a representation of a salmon Sxwaixwe.

In commenting on the occurrence of these Sxwaixwe grave figures, Wingert (1949a/1969:13) speculates that:

since the right to wear a mask was the privilege of only certain families of high social position, these carvings therefore indicate that the deceased was a member of a socially prominent family.

This display of privilege seems to underlie the carving of Sxwaixwe representations on objects other than masks, as will be shown below (C24).

4.3. Grave House Paintings:

Only one illustration (Pmp 1408) of Sxwaixwe masks painted on the outside walls of a grave house at Yale, B.C. seems to exist. The photographer is identified as Fred Dally and the photograph was probably taken between 1867 and 1870. Two masks flank the central door and a painting of a large sturgeon like fish surmounts the whole side. The painted masks have collars and single feathers rising above the faces. There seems to be no nose animals but horizontal bands of paint, similar to that of the clown mask, cross the faces. The archival caption reads "A great fisherman who was drowned when trying to land an enormous salmon" (Daly album #5, p.24).

The only other mention made of a Sxwaixwe painted on a house is in Barnett (1955/1975). Speaking of a house owner in Slaiamon, he says:

Number six had an eagle painted on one side of his door and a swaihwe mask...on the other; also the binding poles of the front wall extended above the eaves and had eagles carved at their tops (50).

Again, we see a type of Sxwaixwe bearing object occurring at both horizontal boundaries of Salish territory.

4.4. Combs:

Three combs carved with Sxwaixwe representations have been photographed. Two are in the Bill Holm slide set (MJ 2 and XH 1) and the other is held by the British Museum (BMM 2286).

Combs, per se, are not ritual objects (C25) but rather objects of personal use and adornment. Their decoration is usually purely decorative and they exhibit a great variety of form and decoration, tending towards uniqueness, indicating that "their design was not restricted by any tradition" (Wingert 1955/1975:21). Nevertheless,

Although the carving was decorative and in no way an outgrowth from or related to use or function, it may originally have had some greater significance. This is suggested by the fact that it (the comb) is so closely related in style and design to sculptures with established religious and social significance (21).

Though not religious or ritual objects, combs did figure in a young girl's puberty ritual. Why some of these combs might carry a Sxwaixwe representation is understandable if we remember that a pubescent girl was considered Xe'xe, and that

When the period of her (first menses) seclusion was over, she had to be formally purified...(Hill-Tout 1905:136).

This public ritual consisted of not only a ritual

cleansing, but also a public display and validation of her new status as a woman and her acquisition of those family prerogative to be bestowed upon her. For families owning the privilege, this could be accomplished by having Sxwaixwe dancers 'wash' her of her dangerous ambiguity (Xe'xe) at a public "coming out" party held in her honour. Newly clothed, bathed, tattooed, and painted with ochre, she would also have her hair combed, parted and braided in adult fashion by a female ritualist hired by her father (Barnett 1955/1975:151, 155-6, 176, 178). Thus, a comb decorated with a Sxwaixwe would publicly display her family's (and her own) right to own and use Sxwaixwe. It might also demonstrate her father's willingness to include this privilege in her marriage gifts.

The British Museum comb (BMM 2286) is part of the Christy Collection acquired between 1865 and 1868. It and the Nanaimo mask (BMM 4928), also a part of the Christy Collection, are probably the two oldest, historic Sxwaixwe bearing objects in museum collections. The comb bears the likeness of a Raven Sxwaixwe head and shoulders and is very similar to some of the grave figures, i.e. it seems to represent the Sxwaixwe being and not a person wearing a mask.

A fourth comb may possibly represent a pre-historic depiction of a Sxwaixwe. This wapiti antler comb is from the Stselax phase deposits (DhRt2) and dates from the Late Period (Borden 1976:163). It has two ear projections, but, in the absence of any facial animal features and in its horizontal

banding, it resembles a clown mask face (Fig. 17).

4.5 Rattles:

The Salish used a variety of rattles in their rituals and dances: deer hoof bundles on sticks, pecten shell rattles, globular wood rattles, and steamed and folded mountain sheep horn rattles.

Some examples of horn rattles are identified in their museum documentation as carrying Sxwaixwe representations. The least ambiguous representation is on the handle of AMNH 20/347 (illus. in Dockstader 1966:fig.138). This rattle was collected in 1890-1900 and carved on its handle pommel is a bird face with two bird-head ears, peg eyes, and pendulous tongue. Wavy lines and u-shapes complete the facial decorations. Though the design on its horn rattle part is said to represent

Swaixwe, the Sky Being, and is used in dances by the performer playing its part and also in naming ceremonies (Dockstader 1966:fig.138),

it does not exhibit any of the features we have come to recognize as exemplifying a Sxwaixwe; only its pommel is unambiguously Sxwaixwe-like.

Another horn rattle (GM AA-1150) identified as representing "Swaixwie, The Sky Being" (Glenbow Museum accession notes) is also not clearly Sxwaixwe in appearance.

The central face on each horn surface is described as being "surrounded by two otter or seal figures with crescent designs" and its surface still exhibits traces of red and blue paint. The rattle no longer has any traces of wool fringe, nor does it still have a handle.

To my eyes, the central figure is a male face seen straight on and the animal figures surrounding it look more like a plumed, two headed snake with its body circling the central human face.

If this rattle is compared to the AMNH rattle above, a similarity does become apparent: both have central human faces on the flat sides of the horn rattle. Where the Glenbow rattle has a two-headed snake circling this human face, the AMNH rattle has a series of concentric arcs circling the central face and more concentric arcs radiating away from outside of the face's edge. The picture I have does not clearly show the 'forehead' of the central face so I cannot say if the concentric arcs finish in animal heads or not. Nevertheless, the carvings on the horn of these rattles is very similar to many other horn rattles and to some of the spindle whorls: a central human face surrounded by circling animals. They were both included in my sample because others have identified them as representing Sxwaixwes and not because I believe they do.

The third rattle (BM VAN 158) is even more ambiguous. It is also the oldest. Collected by George Goodman Hewett on

Captain George Vancouver's 1790-1795 voyage, it is a nearly globular, carved horn rattle with a wood handle and carved wood pommel. It no longer has any wool fringe (illus. in Feder 1983:52). Its pommel is carved with a bird head, similar to AMNH 20/347, with circular peg eyes but without a pendulous tongue. One of its horn sides is carved with a face (possibly a bird) with circular peg eyes surrounded by the same kind of eye lid and eye socket shapes that characterize some of the masks (Fig. 18) and grave figures. This might be an abstracted owl or an early prototype of a Sxwaixwe. Or we may be seeing something else, generically Salish and power related combining birds and eyes.

Martine Reid (pers. com. 10/4/87) has told me about two other rattles that might need to be considered. These are a Cook collection rattle held in Rotterdam that she believes looks like a Swaixwe mask and a Cook collection rattle held in Cambridge. This latter rattle is of Westcoast (Nuuchaltnut) style and is made of two side by side birds carved in wood and also resembles a Sxwaixwe mask if one considers the two bird heads as the ears of a mask and their combined body as the mask's face. Unfortunately, no pictures of either of these rattles were available and they have, therefore, not been included in my listing of known artifacts (C26).

4.6. Spoon:

The only other early historical Salish artifact bearing a Sxwaixwe image on it that I could find is a carved wooden spoon (NMC-G-197). It was collected around 1928 by H.I. Smith and its accession notes describe it as being a

large spoon with plain bowl and cylindrical handle narrowing to top interrupted by an incised recessed band half way up towards tip of handle. Pommel on handle tip is made of a flattened oval face facing out of back.

This face (Fig 19) is surmounted by twin projections (ears?). It has cylindrical eyes, a long rectangular nose and a sharp horizontal change of plane at the level of the mouth. It could be read as a very plain, stylized Sxwaixwe face.

4.7 Earliest Examples of the Sxwaixwe Image:

Many writers have speculated that Salish art forms have a long antecedence and that there has been both a "fixed art style" (Boas 1927/1955:285) (C27) and a continuity of forms from archaeological to contemporary times. A number of archaeological finds seem to support this contention. Pecten shell rattle fragments, Sxwaixwe mask fragments, and miniature masks have all been found in archaeological excavations in the Salish area.

Miniature masks include representations of bear heads, long beaked birds and a "miniature death mask" carved in sandstone (Borden 1983:139, fig 8:9). This "miniature death

mask" was found at the Milliken site and is dated as belonging to the Climax Period of the Baldwin Phase. Its most remarkable features are its pendulous lower jaw, its horizontal banding on the cheeks, and its recessed, triangular nose.

Another miniature mask, this one in antler (Carlson 1983:203, fig 11:6), exhibits circular, cylindrical eyes, and a carved bird head 'ear' on one of its upper margins. Its twin 'ear' is missing. This is very nearly a typical Sxwaixwe face. It was found on the beach on Mayne Island and is thought to be from the late Marpole phase.

The Glenbow Museum has in its Riveredge collection, a miniature bone mask (RM R 180.259) that is most definitely a Sxwaixwe. It is badly damaged, but it still has its peg eyes, pendulous tongue and twin animal head 'ears'. Unfortunately, this piece has almost no provenience information, only that it was dug up at Hoperun by A. Williams and that it was accessioned by the museum on January 26, 1968.

But miniature masks are not the only objects to be found. Citing the work of Sanger, Suttles (1983:79) mentions a number of archaeological finds containing Sxwaixwe artifacts:

Among materials taken from a prehistoric site at Chase, in the middle of Shuswap country, Sanger (1968) discovered pieces of scallop shells used as rattles and a broken mask that looks like a sxwayxwey. A scallop-shell rattle was also

discovered in the Lochnore-Nesikep locality (Sanger 1970:94, 101). In both places there was other evidence of trade with the coast. This does suggest that the szwayxwey (sic) was in use on the Lower Fraser in prehistoric times.

Furthermore, a number of the stone artifacts studied by Wilson Duff (1975) can be interpreted as bearing Sxwaixwe-like features. Two of these were found within historic Salish territory.

One of these artifacts is a small (2" diameter) stone face (BCPM ER-y-835) found between Lytton and Lillooet. A second is a stone bowl (UBC-MOA DgRn10:1) with a circular face found near Hatzic Lake, in the Fraser Valley. Both of these artifacts exhibit pronounced circular, protruding eyes, and vertical banding on each side of the nose and mouth down to the chin.

A third artifact (MAI 2/8503), a pile driver identified as Kwakiutl and collected by George Hunt, will be discussed with the Kwakiutl Kwekwe (below).

It may be argued that any evidence to support the claim that these may represent Sxwaixwe is very slim and I would concur, if it were not for conversations that I have had with a representative of a Halkomelem Salish Band (C28) in which he mentioned a stone bowl representing a Sxwaixwe that one of the band families has been trying to recover as family property.

5. NON-CENTRAL COAST SALISH SXWAIXWE

Three distinct types of non-Central Coast Salish Sxwaixwe masks exist. These are the various forms of the Kwakiutl 'Kwekwe' (including Comox variations), the Nootkan Kwekwe, and the Lummi Sxwaixwe. All of these are derived from the Central Coast Salish Sxwaixwe, but not all of them have used the typical Sxwaixwe mask silhouette as a starting point. This will become clearer as I proceed. Also notice, these non-Central Coast Salish Sxwaixwe are 're-interpreted' images, integrated into their own artistic traditions and ceremonial systems.

5.1. Kwakiutl Kwekwe:

By 1800, the southern expansion of the Kwakiutl Lekwiltok had displaced the Island Comox and forced them south into Pentlatch territory. Their population greatly reduced by disease and raids, the Pentlatch merged with the arriving Comox and both then intermarried with the Lekwiltok (Kennedy & Bouchard 1983:17). Through mutual exchanges of marriage gifts, the Comox Salish acquired from the Kwakiutl family crests and their representations on carved posts including totem poles. They also acquired and used Kwakiutl winter ceremonial dances and paraphernalia. The Kwakiutl, in turn, acquired the right to use and display the Sxwaixwe. In doing so, they changed both its plastic form and its ritual use to better fit into Kwakiutl ceremonialism. It became

integrated into the Cannibal Series of dances and was called the Kwekwe (earthquake or whirlwind) dance. As such, it necessitated no spirit quest and had no cleansing function. Rather, it was the last dance after the arrival of the new Cannibal dancers.

His dance is believed to shake the ground and to be a certain means of bringing back the ha/mats'a who is being initiated (Boas 1897:497).

Four masked dancers were required to dance at the same time. The song that was sung while they danced was believed to be in Comox (Boas 1966:270-71). The dancers used the pecten shell rattle but dressed in crest button blankets and red cedar bark fringe rather than in the white Salish costume of tunic, feather fringe, and leggings (C29).

While searching out examples of Salish Sxwaixwe, 30 Kwakiutl Kwekwe masks were identified and these are the only ones that will be considered here. This does not mean that these are the only ones extant. On the contrary, it is likely that at least twice this number are still to be found in museum collections.

The Kwakiutl Kwekwe mask has taken several forms (Fig.20), one based on the Salish key-hole silhouette, the others following more Kwakiutl mask shapes, yet all forms have cylindrical, projecting eyes. In analyzing these shapes, no attempt was made to determine their iconography but only to sort these masks according to their plastic qualities. As

a result, five different mask silhouettes were identified: Salish Key-Hole (4 masks), Kwekwe A (10 masks), Kwekwe B (3 masks), Kwekwe C (5 masks), and Kwekwe D (6 masks) (C30).

5.1.1. Salish Key-Hole:

These masks all date from the last quarter of the 19th century and some of them are identified as Comox. They are all identical to the typical Salish Sxwaixwe in having a key-hole silhouette, nose animal, twin animal ears, and animal body parts engraved on their surfaces, yet they can be radically different when it comes to colour (orange and bright blue), surface decoration (wavy lines), and carving style (non-standard Salish shapes for constituent animals and narrower and sharper planes to the mask surface). One of the masks (PHAC 82.1.70) even has a strip of copper nailed down the center of its tongue.

These masks include:

MNH 16/4724
BMA IV-A-2326
KM 979.1.90 ab
PHAC 82.1.70

5.1.2. Kwekwe A

All the Kwekwe type masks have rectangular silhouettes. They all lack any nose animal, twin animal head ears, and animal body parts engraved into their surfaces. All, when painted, follow Kwakiutl colour usage and 'form-line' aesthetics as defined by Holm (1965).

The Kwekwe A mask is characterized by peg eyes, a rectangular silhouette, a broad humanoid face, a pendulous tongue, and is generally painted black with details highlighted in red, green, and white. These masks also have holes drilled around their perimeters and may have had, when worn, several single feathers inserted into their sides and top.

These masks include:

AMNH neg# 2838737

AMNH 19/269

BCPM 5035

BMA IV-A-420

FMNH 19269

MOA A-7983

MPM 17333

MPM 17334

MPM 17335

RM-R 2086.1 (bought from MPM and may be one of the 3 above)

5.1.3. Kwekwe B

This type is characterized by peg eyes, a rectangular silhouette, a more narrow humanoid face, a pendulous tongue, a white background, and single feathers painted on a wood extension framing the sides and top of the mask face. A set of four matching masks of this type attributed to Jimmy Seaweed is held in the UBC-MOA collections. Unfortunately, I have an accession number for only one of them.

These masks include:

AMNH 16/8382

BCPM 14857

MOA A-4095

RM-R 53.200

5.1.4. Kwekwe C

This type is characterized by peg eyes, a rectangular silhouette, a humanoid face, a pendulous tongue, and a 'collar' of additional faces with pendulous tongues on each side of the main face. Usually these faces number 4, two on each side, but one mask (MAI 6/9935) is flanked by single faces with stylized bodies. All the additional faces have peg eyes and pendulous tongues. One of the masks (MAI 6/9153) was photographed when it was still part of Tozier's collection and is shown (Gilstrap n.d.) with a black and white striped cloth collar circling its bottom edge and 6 or 7 single feathers sticking straight out of its top edge. It also has a single bird head sticking straight up out of the centre of its top edge. The other three masks have two pairs of bird heads added on. One pair looks down from the top edge of the mask, the other pair looks up from the lower cheek area of the mask.

The masks of this type include:

AMNH 6/9153

MAI 6/9153

MAI 6/9935

WMHA (n.d.:61, top)

WMHA (n.d.:61, bottom)

5.1.5. Kwekwe D

This mask type is characterized by peg eyes, a rectangular silhouette, a humanoid face, a white background, human lips and no tongue. Sometimes, the mouth is toothed.

This type may also have extra bird heads projecting from the central face. The masks of this type include:

BCPM 14857
Burrow & Grabert (1968:23)
MOA A 6216
RM-R 2086.2
WMHA (1971:29,2)
WMHA (1971:29,5)

5.1.6. Non-Mask Kwekwe

I found four non-mask Kwakiutl objects with what looked like Kwekwe faces on them. They all exhibit protruberant eyes and some also sport pendulous tongues. These include:

- carved bowl (MOA 8283): Collected at Quatsino around 1932, this representation of a bird has a humanoid face with prominent eyes and large tooted mouth carved in relief on its stomach. It is very similar to the wood rattle that follows and to a Kwekwe D.
- house post (Holm 1983:114, fig.194): Collected by Capt. Tozier at Quatsino Sound in 1910, and now in a private collection, this house post is carved with a giant humanoid figure squatting on a man's shoulders. This giant has large, bulbous eyes and a pendulous tongue similar to a Kwekwe A.
- pile driver (AMNH 2/8503 illus. in Duff 1975:113, fig.100): This 11'' diameter engraved stone was collected by George Hunt. Duff described it as "a head in the hands, tongue hanging out, suggesting a headache from all that pounding" (1975:183). It could also be seen as a Kwekwe C.
- wood rattle (Pmp 6464a): Collected near Duncan, this hollow wood rattle is carved in the shape of a bird's body, the tail serves as its handle and a humanoid face with prominent eyes and a large tooted mouth is carved on its stomach. It is very similar to the carved bowl above and to a Kwekwe D.

5.2. Nootka Masks

The Nuulchalnut (Westcoast or Nootka) Indians also acquired the Salish Sxwaixwe through marriage sometime at the turn of the century. It was not possible to determine if they acquired it from the Salish or the Kwakiutl, but their form of the mask follows Kwakiutl aesthetics (Kwekwe C) (Fig. 21). Only three Nootkan Kwekwe masks seem to exist. All three are very large masks worn on the head like hats and do not cover the dancer's face. They do not appear to have a specific costume associated with them but are worn with crest button blankets. Furthermore, no spirit quest or cleansing rite seem to be associated with any of these masks.

Two masks (UBC/SC-B.C. 647 a, b) were owned by a Nootkan chief, Captain Jack, who used them as wealth and prestige display items at the turn of the century (C31). These masks are similar to each other, having a central humanoid face with two smaller humanoid faces with pendulous tongues, one on top of the other, forming panels on each side of the central face. These panels extend above the central face to form 'ears'. Red cedar bark fringe and single brown feathers fill the space between these ears and more fringe trails behind the mask. Both masks have beak type noses on both main and secondary faces. The masks are painted in green, yellow, red, black and white. These masks are now in the UBC-MOA collection:

MOA A 8546

MOA A 8547

Another mask, (Carter 1968:97), was carved by Jimmie John and is said to be a copy of Chief Macquinna's mask. It is of unpainted, darkly stained wood. It has a central humanoid face with eagles facing up flanking its sides. These eagles have wolf heads above them looking towards the centre of the top edge. A central bird head looking downwards is between the two wolf heads. A second humanoid head surmounts this central bird head. Movable fans of carved wooden 'feathers' are attached to both upper sides of the mask. The eye pupils of all the faces and the eyebrows and tongue of the main face are stained red. The present location of this mask is not known.

A fourth mask identified as Nootkan (BCPM 5035) has already been listed with the Kwekwe A (above) because it fits within that type.

Wingert (1949a/1969:121) noticed similarities between some Kwakiutl and Nootkan masks and the Salish Sxwaixwe and concluded that

It seems likely, therefore, that in these respects (shared basic sculptural elements, L.D.) the Kwakiutl especially, who were a northern people, appropriated an art form with which they came into contact in the southern part of the Northwest Coast, and, with the acquisition of metal tools, developed it and imprinted upon it certain northern elements.

5.3. Lummi Sxwaixwe:

Myron Eells, in a series of notebooks compiled in the 1890's, described various masks used by the Klallam of his time. One of the masks he illustrated (Ruby & Brown 1976:64) (Fig. 22) is remarkably similar to masks that the Lummi use today and which they consider to be Sxwaixwe.

The Lummi acquired the use of the Sxwaixwe in historic times, possibly as late as 1912 (Suttles 1974:411). A Lummi man named Patals, claiming the right to Sxwaixwe through his mother who was from a Cowichan village, traveled to Vancouver Island to learn how to carve the masks. He is reputed to have carved at least 10 masks, one of which is illustrated in Stern (1934/1969:114), and two in Inverarity (1950/1971, fig.60 & 61). Once adopted, the mask was used "not only at ordinary crisis rites but also to wipe away insults and to bring wayward sons back into the right paths" (Suttles 1974:406-7). No spirit quest is associated with the mask.

The Lummi Sxwaixwe does not seem to be imbued with the same degree of sacredness and ritual import as the Central Coast Salish mask. Richard Vanderway, of the Whatcom Museum of History and Art, told me in 1987, that for the contemporary Lummi, the Sxwaixwe was a personally produced, 'disposable', 'folk art' tool made for a specific purpose and that it was not considered an art object or an item one would commission from a professional 'artist'. Therefore, it was felt that the mask could take any form the producer wished

(Vanderway pers. com. 15/10/87). This might explain the large number of Lummi masks for which I have photographs and the bewildering variety of painted designs on them. Nevertheless, they all have rectangular silhouettes, cylindrical peg eyes and a long, narrow, often beaked nose. No surface engraving seems to be used on any of these masks, nor paired 'ears', recognizable nose or face animals, or pendulous tongues. Most masks have no mouths at all.

The colours are idiosyncratic: the paint is applied in parallel or radiating bands of light and dark, interspersed with sets of dots (fig 23). In many ways, this resembles the way paint is applied to spirit boards and spirit canoe figures (see Wingert 1949a/1969) or even the way the Makah painted their masks in the mid to late 19th century (Thompson 1986: 12). Other masks are painted with radiating triangles of colour resembling an abstracted bird in flight.

Two distinct types of masks have been produced by the Lummi, an older type similar to some of the Salish grave figures, Lummi A and a newer type, Lummi B.

5.3.1. Lummi A:

This mask type is characterized by a broad, humanoid face with bulbous cheeks, and knobby peg eyes (fig 24). The nose is beaked and down curved. The mouth is also down curved. Radiating lines of paint descend from the sides of

the nose to the bottom of the cheeks. This type of mask resembles most the grave figures from Nanaimo (Pmp 11446 photographed c. 1877). They both share the broad face, the bulbous cheeks and knobby peg eyes.

BPL IND 321 d (side view)

BPL IND 324 d (front view)

Two views of the same mask (extreme right of top row) worn by Al Charles. (Seven other masks are also shown, see type Lummi B.) These photos were accessioned in 1956 but they show two masks collected by E. Gunther in 1940 so the photos could date from then.

Jilek (1982:96, fig. 26)

Totem pole at Lummi Reserve. The photograph shows only the lower portion of the pole. The lowest figure is a naked humanoid figure with a mask face. Above it is a bird beaked Sxwaixwe mask. Above it is an Indian in dark tunic with wooden 'paddle' fringe (a spirit dancer?). And finally, a side view of a fish. The photograph does not show what is above the fish. Both masks are Lummi A.

Pmp 1444

Sxwaixwe dancer in feather fringe and tunic, and holding a pecten shell rattle. His mask is painted in horizontal stripes and has a wooden striped 'collar' surrounding its sides and top. Three single feathers and four flexible wands with tufts on them are inserted in the top of the mask. The descriptive notes include a notation by Francis Bob (25/1/83) that this is not a real sxwaixwe but a 'clown'. The photograph dates from around 1910.

Stern 1934/1969:114, fig. V a

Stern 1934/1969:114, fig. V b

These two Sxwaixwe masks also appear in a c.1917 photograph held at the UBC-MOA (UBC-MOA A 111): of a "A group of Lummi at Tulalip" identified as such by Suttles on the accession card, 7/9/75. They both have a single 'horn' in the centre of the forehead made up of a round humanoid face on a cylindrical 'neck'.

5.3.2. Lummi B

This type of mask is characterized by its flatness. It is basically a board of wood with two pegs and a narrow

rectangle added to it to form eyes and nose. Two holes are drilled through the mask, on each side of the nose, for the dancer to see through. The paint, usually mat, is applied in horizontal bands, spots, and radiating triangles. Some combinations of radiating triangles resemble a stylized bird in flight applied to the mask surface (Fig.25). The nose is sometimes carved in the rough shape of a bird (?) head facing down. None of the masks have 'ears'.

BPL IND 321 e,f,g,

BPL IND 324 e,f,g,

Two views of 8 masks, six of which are hung up in two rows on the outside wall of a house on Lummi Reserve near Marietta, Washington. Top row of masks and the mask held by young girl are of a long beaked bird head type. The three masks in the bottom row are all of type 'b'. They are surmounted by several (7-10) banded single feathers and they all have cloth 'hoods' attached to the back of them. Mask 'f', middle of bottom row, is illustrated in Inverarity (1950/1971, fig 60) and is now in the Washington State Museum (accession number unknown).

BPL IND 322 a,b,c,d,e,f,

Eight masks hung on outside wall of a house on Lummi Reserve, near Marietta, Washington. Photograph is part of same series as BPL IND 321 and 324 above. Each mask is surmounted by several (7-10) banded single feathers. They also all seem to have a cloth 'hood' attached to the back of them. Mask "a", (top row, extreme left) is illustrated in Inverarity (1950/1971, fig. 61) and is now in the collection of the Washington State Museum (WSM 3172?).

WMHA 67.8.1

Mask accessioned in 1967 and illustrated in WMHA (1975:10) as IV A 2. Painted in radiating stripes of pale yellow, light grey blue, medium grey, white, and bright red. Nose, in the shape of a stylized animal head facing down, is a separate piece attached with 4 screws.

WMHA 67.8.2

Mask accessioned in 1967 and illustrated in WMHA (1975:10) as IV A 1. Painted in dark apple green, rose, light apple green, red, and cream. It is idiosyncratic

in having curved lines painted around its eyes, mouth, and down its cheeks. Nose and peg eyes are separate pieces attached with screws. Nose is also a stylized animal head facing down.

6. CONTEMPORARY SALISH SXWAIXWES

Towards the early 1900's, a variety of non-traditional Salish objects were produced with Sxwaixwe representations on them. These were of two types, those meant for sale to non-Salish, and those meant for Salish use. The difference between them is not always clear. It may be that here is an interchangeable list of items. Ethnography would be needed. Suffice it to say that all of these items serve three interrelated purposes: to display Salish identity to self, i.e. to other Salish; to display Salishness to other Northwest Indian groups and to non-Indians; and, finally, to make wealth using a symbol of one's identity, the old potlatch display mechanism extended to commercial trade (C32).

During this period, specific individuals can also, for the first time, be identified as choosing to produce these items as gainful self-employment. Khatsahlano is probably the most prolific of these early, 'professional' carvers (C33). Many of the objects bearing Sxwaixwe representations made in the 1910's, 1920's and 1930's and now in museum or private collections were produced by him. These include (Appendix Six) 2 masks for dancing, 9 'curio' masks or wall plaques, 2 figurines, a model of a long house with carved Sxwaixwe

posts, 3 pencil drawings of dancers (including a clown), and a gavel engraved with a Sxwaixwe face (C34).

Since the 1950's, others have also become part-time, professional carvers, notably Simon Charlie who was one of the first to start using the Sxwaixwe as an element on a free standing 'totem' pole.

Contemporary Salish artists have expanded on possible Sxwaixwe representations even more. These now include figures engraved on spirit dancer staves (NMC-VII-G-689, VCM-AA 1009), a silk screen print (BCPM 17297), Indian Band office logos (Bierwert 1987), 'totem poles' and an art store promotional window painting. At an Indian Art Show I attended in Vancouver (1986), it seemed as if one young Indian man, who had carved some generic Northwest Coast style masks, was using his carving of a Sxwaixwe mask as proof that he was Salish and not of another ethnic group. The Sxwaixwe mask was not for sale and I could not ascertain if he was a member of a family owning the right to Sxwaixwe.

One characteristic of many of these pieces, is a reduction of the Sxwaixwe image to its key-hole silhouette and its peg eyes. These two features remain essential, everything else can be manipulated: absence or presence of colour, of identifiable nose animal, of matching components of a specific mask type, and even of engraved versus painted details. Components of several mask types are sometimes

combined so that we now find 'generic' bird masks having the nose bird of one mask type, the face body of another, and the ears of a third (DP 1). Also apparent is a marked loss of carving knowledge for the period between 1910 and 1950-60, and an adoption of more northerly carving techniques after this time. However, it seems that at least a few carvers did maintain awareness of specifically Salish aesthetics, and that this awareness is growing (C35).

7. BORROWINGS AND RE-BORROWINGS

The history of the artistic development of a people, and the style that they have developed at any given time, predetermine the method by which they express their ideas in decorative art; and that the type of ideas that a people is accustomed to express by means of decorative art predetermines the explanation that will be given to a new design. It would therefore seem that there are certain typical associations between ideas and forms which become established, and which are used for artistic expression. The ideas which a design expresses at the present time is not necessarily a clue to its history. It seems probable that idea and style exist independently, and influence each other constantly. (Boas 1903:562).

Available archaeological and ethnographic information suggest that projecting eyes and pendulous tongues have been, and continue to be, important images in Salish iconography and that the Sxwaixwe, combining both these images, is a specifically Salish image with a long history of use predating European arrival. Furthermore, from looking at the range of Sxwaixwe objects in use, we can now state that by the mid-to late-1800's, objects bearing the Sxwaixwe image

could be found from Lillooet to Vancouver Island and from Comox to Lummi (Map 3). In less than a century from its earliest postulated date, 1780, (Duff 1952b), it had spread throughout Salish territory. Its form was already varied and there were several alternate ways to represent a Sxwaixwe such that it is difficult to speak of a 'typical' Sxwaixwe when we cross from one artifact type to another. Nevertheless, there is a necessary, minimal attribute which must exist: cylindrical, projecting eyes. A second attribute, a pendulous tongue, is also important but may be absent.

Throughout its range, the Sxwaixwe occurred both as a tool for ritual use (mask, costume, dance, and cleansing ceremony) and as a display of privilege (house post, grave figure, mortuary house painting, comb, spoon, rattles, and stone objects). Furthermore, the Salish Sxwaixwe had by this time, influenced and been influenced by neighbouring groups and these influences had had stylistic repercussions.

Modern use of the Sxwaixwe image will continue this blend of sacred and secular, adding as a new partner of exchange, the non-Indian commercial market.

Loss of knowledge, both iconographic and technical, brought on by disruptions to Salish cultural life, has had and continues to have stylistic and aesthetic repercussions. Nevertheless, the Sxwaixwe is one Salish object that has had an unbroken history of use within Salish culture (Kew 1981) and newer masks seem to be exhibiting more of the older style

of carving.

Though the carving of masks continues to be a male task, both men and women share in the construction of the mask assemblage and costume. Furthermore, though only men dance, they do so in a context where only women drum and sing. The Sxwaixwe continues to be a ritual context within which men and women participate in complementary and equal fashions.

D - SXWAIXWE AS LOCUS OF RELIGIOUS MEANING

In ceremonial objects the ideas represented are more important than the decorative effect... (Boas 1903:552)

Beyond its iconography, an artifact's 'meaning' consists of what it means to use it (its function) and once considered according to five main cultural patterns, or themes, to which it is associated, the Sxwaixwe's functions will become more apparent. These cultural patterns include: 1) ancestral connections, 2) supernatural power, 3) healing transformation, 4) male/female mediation, and 5) the bestowing of wealth, worth, and, today, ethnic identification.

1. SXWAIXWE AS ANCESTRAL BENEFactor (D1)

Although the Sxwaixwe privilege was owned and danced throughout the Coast Salish area, its origins were explained and described in locally developed myths (Jenness 1955/1979:71) characteristic of the mythologies of the receiving groups (Duff 1952b:125). These myths either explained how the Sxwaixwe came to be or else described how an ancestor acquired the Sxwaixwe. Though sometimes seen as mythological, these ancestors are more often named, recognizable persons and the events described include 'historical' accounts of marriages with, thefts from, and appropriations of masks owned by contiguous groups who may

originally have acquired these masks as a result of an ancestor's successful spirit quest.

The myths identify two main ways of acquiring the mask: either the ancestor's sister fishes the mask and the dance paraphernalia out of a body of water in which the Sxwaixwe live or the mask falls from the sky and is found by the group's ancestor (D2). The first pattern, which is the only one that will be considered in detail here, is more common for the mainland Halkomelem, especially for the groups around Hope, B.C. (Duff 1952b). It fits a Salish format for stories of successful spirit quests (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:65-85) and can be abstracted thus:

A fatherless young man lives with his mother and sister. He and his family are shunned because he has an incurable skin disease of smelly sores which cover his body. Eventually, he resolves to leave his village and kill himself. So, early one morning, without telling anyone, he leaves the village and travels to a deep lake where slalakum (supernatural beings) live. On his way to the lake, he fasts, washes, and rubs his body with evergreen boughs, trying to purify himself but he fails and his sores remain.

Eventually, he arrives at the lake where he climbs a rock and dives into the water. He loses consciousness and wakes up on the beach. He throws himself into the water a second time and a second time, he wakes up on the beach. He tries again, this time carrying a heavy rock in his arms.

Again he fails to drown. Finally, on his fourth try, he lands on the roof of a big house within which there are many sick people. He realizes that these people are the slalakum and that they are sick because of him. Their sores are caused by mucus which he has previously spit into the water. They notice him and he agrees to cure the sick in exchange for compensation. He is offered a mask and costume, the Sxwaixwe. He cures the slalakum by 'washing' them with shredded cedar bark. They dress in their costumes and dance for him, teaching him how to display the privilege they are giving him. They then return him to the beach.

From there, he makes his way home where he instructs his sister to make a new basket and blanket and to go to the lake where she is to cast a line made of her hair. She is to wrap whatever she catches in the new blanket and place it into the basket. She goes to the lake and casts in the line made of her hair and, eventually, feeling a great weight tugging at her line, she pulls it in. A humanoid figure, with protruding eyes and a hanging tongue, covered in feather spirals and shaking a shell rattle, emerges from the water. As the humanoid figure slips out of the feather spirals and sinks back into the water, she realizes that she has hooked a mask and costume. Following her brother's instructions, she places the costume, mask and rattle into the new basket and brings it back near the village where she hides it in a tree. At this point, her brother instructs her to tell their mother

and the other people of the village to cleanse themselves and to clean their houses in preparation for a feast. They do so and he appears wearing the costume and mask and shaking the rattle. All those who see him fall sick but by dancing he cures them all.

Subsequently, he gives the mask to his sister as a marriage gift for her own use. He also makes other masks, duplicates of his own. Not yet having much wealth of his own, he makes these new masks to give to his male relatives in exchange for the wealth they are willing to use to display the mask:

I don't have the means to show this to the people but you do, so I will give it to you if you will show it. I will teach you how to dance it and you can sing any song you want. When I dance, I will sing my own, but yours can be different. (Codere 1948:4)

Though this was the standard format of the mainland myth, it was not the only one. Duff (1955b:124) reminds us that

as the mask diffused, so did its origin myth, but both were changed to accord with the artistic and mythological setting provided by the receiving group.

Furthermore, whether a group's origin story speaks of the mask as being fished out of the water (central area), as dropping down from the sky (Vancouver Island and northern mainland area), or else, as being rejected by the group in question (Southern Straits area), a consistent feature of

these stories is that they are said to refer back to real, named ancestors:

It's a real story of the forefathers of my grandfather. (Codere 1948:4)

In its simplest form, the origin story tells of a named ancestor acquiring the Sxwaixwe as part of a successful spirit quest:

An Agassiz man went fishing on the little lake at the foot of one of the small mountains at Agassiz. He caught the sxwaixwe costume and took it home. Later, in his sleep, the real sxwaixwe came to him in a dream (sulia) and taught him how to use it. This was a real person, one of those who lived under the mountain. - H.J. (initials of informant). (Duff 1952b:125)

If all the origin myths from the central Halkomelem area, comprising the oldest stories of how the Sxwaixwe was found rather than acquired, are compared some similarities become apparent: Sxwaixwe usually live under water, the costume and rattle are fished out of the water, and a man becomes the owner of the costume and privilege. This also matches a Puget Sound Salish spirit questing pattern which has non-shamanic power giving spirits living under water and granting a questant gifts of skills or tools, though not a costume or mask (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:65-85).

Other frequent parallels between the Sxwaixwe origin stories and the spirit questing stories are the related themes of diving into deep water, waking up on the beach and use of spittle:

He went through the usual procedure of covering a rock with saliva and then diving into a great whirlpool with it. This boy dove into the pool ... and dropped the rock. When he came up ... spirits came to the Samish (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:68).

To obtain some spirits it is necessary to dive into deep water. Often a boy floated down a river on two logs, carrying a heavy stone with him. When he got well into the water he covered the stone with saliva and dove into the water with it. This made him sink to a great depth. When he awoke he would find himself lying on the beach. (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:69).

Codere (1948) has postulated that the Salish Sxwaixwe myths combine Puget Sound spirit questing themes with Northern Northwest Coast crest acquisition themes. I will return to this when discussing the Sxwaixwe as bringer of wealth and worth.

From ancestral benefactors, the Sxwaixwe have become an inherited ritual prerogative. Though their representations and the right to use and display them is acquired in a manner reminiscent of a spirit quest, the Sxwaixwe are not thought of as guardian spirits or shamanic spirits. The costumes and the rituals were originally acquired by ancestors and subsequently transmitted to descendants within 'historical' times - that is, in their present form at least, they belong to post-contact history.

2. SXWAIXWE AS SUPERNATURAL BEING

The Sxwaixwe who live in the depths of the water are slalakum or supernatural beings; the dancers' anti-clockwise movements during the dance mimic the anti-clockwise (east to west) movements of spirits during the year (Haeberlin & Gunther 1930/1971:67) (D3) and the plastic characteristics of the Sxwaixwe mask (animal overlay on human skull) also indicate the supernatural nature of these beings and the human/spirit partnership implied by the myths.

The extension of the power received individually by the ancestor to a power controlled by the kin group is linked to these characteristics: as the power inherent in the mask passed from it to a copy (Codere 1948:3), so could the power given to the first dancer pass to the one imitating him (Guedon, pers. com. 1993), providing it was within a legitimate social context, that is, transmitted within the kin group. This extension was accomplished through the mediation of the mask and costume, i.e. the representation of Sxwaixwe itself.

Earlier, I described the mask as made up of three layers of information: the human skull shape of the mask (base), its facial animal overlay (primary) (D4), and animal ears (secondary). Yet, informants have repeatedly mentioned that early masks were different from later ones in not having these overlays:

From Mrs. R.J.'s account, the first mask was much simpler than present examples, having a human type nose and no projecting bird or animal heads on top. The two animal or bird heads on top, the nose in the shape of a bird or animal, the use of the whole mask to depict the complete body of a bird, and perhaps the great exaggeration of the "tongue" appear to be later developments. (Duff 1952b:125)

The (mask) was made of yellow cedar and worn on the top and front of the head. Its face was just like a human face, but the eyes stuck out. The nose was a human nose. The mouth was wide, with no teeth showing, but the tongue stuck out and hung down over the lower lip. (There were no small birds' heads on top of this mask.) The mask was partly painted; the face red, the eyeballs white, the eyebrows black, the tongue red. From the top of the mask protruded a fan-shaped crown of many feathers, the large white-tipped feathers from the tail of the mountain-eagle (.c'i'skə!.....). Above this protruded four long thin reeds of ironwood, each with six white snowballs of swan's down attached, which got progressively smaller toward the ends of the reeds and vibrated when the mask was used. (Duff 1952b:124)

These descriptions of early masks given by informants match closely the one I would use to describe the representations of Sxwaixwe on grave figures, combs and rattle handles. It may be that these early depictions are of the Sxwaixwe slalakum alone, while the masks, with their primary animal overlays, depict the partnership of human dancer and Sxwaixwe spirit. Only the clown and the ghost masks do not fit this pattern.

Both the clown and the ghost masks have only the human base and no primary animal overlay. (I am considering the beaver's teeth as equivalent to an animal overlay.; The ghost mask has a secondary animal overlay (bird ears) but the clown does not. The UBC-Museum of Anthropology clown mask

(MOA A6475) has a human primary overlay over a human base and no secondary overlay. What might this mean?

Informants tell us that the clown Sxwaixwe lacks power: it cannot cure, it cannot bring wealth to its owner (other than the fee paid to the dancer), it does not even count as one of a pair of Sxwaixwe needed to dance. This is because it 'doesn't know how to be a Sxwaixwe', it lacks knowledge (siewen). Having no siewen, no spirit partnership, no animal overlay, it can only taunt and challenge the real Sxwaixwe who dance to cleanse and bring wealth (D5). The marker of lack of knowledge (siewen) is unclear. Is it in the lack of primary animal overlay? or does it lack siewen because it is a clown? or more fundamentally because it is not an exact enough copy of the original (Guédon, pers. com. 1993)?

The ghost mask has both a human base and a secondary overlay of animal ears, but it lacks the primary overlay of animal face. If the ghost mask was only (mainly?) used at memorial feasts and was unlucky if used at any other time, it might be because it represents the loss of a spirit association through the death of its human partner, and is therefore a normal, three-layered Sxwaixwe stripped of its primary animal overlay .

But what of the secondary animal overlay of the ears, the only characteristic that distinguishes the three kinds of sawbills from each other?

I believe the ears are markers of individual human ownership. If, as the myths say, many masks were routinely copied and were so similar that the power jumped from one to the other,

He held them so close and they were so much alike
... that the power went ... from one over to the
new one (Codere 1948:3).

then varying the ears of the mask would help distinguish one from the other. Thus, brothers receiving copies of their parents' mask might each receive the same mask with the same face overlay but with different ear overlays. (D6).

As images of supernatural beings or slalakum, the Sxwaixwe are not considered markers of shamanic powers: they are activated by individuals by virtue of similarity and transmitted from kin to kin. Their three iconographic layers could correspond roughly to three functions: humanoid base to spirit encounter, primary overlay to spirit partnership, secondary overlay to social identity of human owner.

3. SXWAIXWE AS HEALER AND TRANSFORMER

It was death for any person to look upon him unless
cured by himself (Codere 1948:2).

For the Salish, illness is often understood as a state of uncleanness and therefore of marginality to society, as being xe'xe. This uncleanness means that one is not 'clean' enough to be successful or to make wealth, and this unclean

condition is contagious. To re-establish order and to protect others, the unclean person must be washed of xe'xe.

In the origin myths of the central Halkomelem, the young man is sick and thus poor and marginalized. No amount of personal spirit questing can cure him. He is incapable of curing himself or of doing anything to bring about his own cure. Furthermore, he finds that his actions in the human world (spitting into the water) have caused sickness in the spirit world (the sick slalakum). The touch of his humanness (his spit) has caused the contagious spread of his skin disease, the same disease that made him impotent (powerless) in his own world. Now the slalakum are impotent (powerless) in their own world. Only his willingness to wash away his humanness from them restores them to power (D7) which they then use to bestow power on him with the instruction that he is to use this gift to 'cleanse' the humans of his own world when they become unclean. But the gift is not without a double edge: if someone other than the owner/user of the gift comes into contact with the gift, then sickness will result.

The mask itself can cause sickness (Jenness 1955/1979:71); the dancers as they dress behind their screen can cause sickness if they are spied upon (Jenness 1955/1979:72); any part of the costume, if it comes in contact with someone other than the dancers or the person they are cleansing, can also cause sickness (Smith 1940:102); any uncontrolled or unmediated contact between humans and the

Sxwaixwe slalakum results in danger, in sickness. Only the Sxwaixwe dancer, the human who has entered in partnership with the slalakum, can cleanse the sickness, can re-establish order. The dancer is the agent of change; a human with power, he mediates between the sphere of humanness and the sphere of non-humanness. Not a shaman, he nevertheless takes on the shaman's healing function, but it is not soul loss he is healing, it is status loss. Where a shaman is a spiritual healer, he is a social healer, healing through a cleansing rite.

Cleansing rites use the language of spirituality but are social mechanisms by which a person is transformed. The Sxwaixwe rite, however, is not like other Salish cleansing rites. These others perpetuate the metaphor of transformation through spirit encounter by displaying the gift from the spirit: song, dance, rattle, whistle, tool; and this display to the community of the thing given is a declaration: This is what happened and this is what we have received and what we can do with it as a result.

The Sxwaixwe differs from these rites in that in donning costume and mask and dancing, the owners of the Sxwaixwe privilege are doing more than displaying a gift or a power: they re-enact and recreate the first spirit-human encounter with its transformation of the first human. Not only is the first encounter re-enacted, but the present owners, through representing the original spirit being encountered as they

don the costume and mask and dance as Sxwaixwe, reactivate the original power. It is as if they were saying: This happened and it can happen again and WE are those who can make it happen again.

As healing devices, Sxwaixwe are rituals which operate by cleansing as in the origin myths. This cleansing, and consequent replacing of people within their proper identity, is accomplished by a re-enactment of the original ancestral encounter.

4. SXWAIXWE AS MEDIATOR OF GENDER RELATIONS

One of the most obvious sub-texts of the Sxwaixwe origin myths is the intervention of the female ancestor or the sister of the male ancestor as a key actor in the acquisition of the mask. This male and female co-operation is repeated, as we have seen, in the making of the mask and the costume, as well as in the manner in which the Sxwaixwe is used as a ritual and transmitted and enjoyed as a privilege.

Furthermore, in accordance with the Salish belief that the goal of marriage is to establish as many social connections as possible, marriage to the daughter of a Sxwaixwe owning family is highly desirable (Lewis 1970:16) since it provides access to the Sxwaixwe privilege and can provide Sxwaixwe ownership to a man's children. It would also provide entrance into the kin group connections that surround the use of the Sxwaixwe.

Another consequence of male and female co-operation in the production and use of Sxwaixwe is the continuing equality of benefit and status for men and women of owning families. Even if the restricted access to this privilege brings about unequal status between families (see next section), this does not extend to gender inequality within the owning families. In this case, that the men of some families gain an enhanced status relative to the group at large does not entail a loss of status for the women of these same families. In this the Salish ideal of egalitarianism is maintained.

5. SXWAIXWE AS BESTOWER OF WEALTH AND WORTH

Everything seems to come easy to those who have the masks (Codere 1948:4).

Salish cleansing rituals serve to normalize an individual's state and kin relationships and thus, to re-establish a former status or establish a new status for this individual. These status changes occur within a public forum (the potlatch) and serve to publicize and validate an individual's change of status within the kin group. The Sxwaixwe, as a cleansing device and privilege display, is well integrated within this system but, even though an individual is the focus of the ceremony, the Sxwaixwe is owned, produced, and acted out by a kin group for the benefit of this kin group.

This is a fundamental difference in the locus of

benefit (corporate versus individual) with far reaching consequences: it is the kin group and not the individual which benefits from the enactment of the Sxwaixwe privilege. Kin group wealth and prestige are the two most obvious benefits, but enhanced marriageability of its members, trans-household and trans-village connections, and the beginnings of ranking based on kingroup membership also result.

Greater wealth and prestige are, by definition, normal outcomes of the ownership and display of privilege, and in this the Sxwaixwe is no different from other kin-owned privileges. What is different is the extent to which the kingroup benefits.

Expensive to learn and to perform (Woodcock 1977:144) the Sxwaixwe has always required the co-operation of large numbers of people to enact. Where other privileges need only one or two people to enact them, the Sxwaixwe requires at least four dancers and multiple singers, each of which may come from different communities and each of which need to be paid. Furthermore, it was (and still is) possible to borrow or rent masks and costumes if one had the right to them but didn't actually own one (Suttles 1974:109, 110). This meant that people from different households and different villages, from different kin-groups even, would co-operate to produce a performance of the Sxwaixwe. There might be no explicit kin relation between them, but an implicit one would be displayed: we are all owners of the Sxwaixwe privilege.

Nevertheless, the Sxwaixwe cannot be seen as equivalent to a secret society or winter crest display since it has never been a community affair (Guedon 1984:43), and has always remained bound to the kin group. What it has become is a privilege of a special class of rich, well connected people rather than the expression of a particular locality (Robinson 1963:111) and its continued use exemplifies the continuing existence of two forces in Salish society: the need for co-operation and the schismatic tendencies reinforced by differential access to wealth (Lewis 1970:16).

The use of the Sxwaixwe image on articles not explicitly needed to enact the Sxwaixwe (combs, grave figures, house posts, rattle handles, grave house paintings) can, in this context, be seen as further public displays of the ownership of this privilege outside of the context of the cleansing rite's enactment. In effect, it is used as a crest (D8) to identify the corporate kin group relative to others in Salish society.

6. SXWAIXWE AS ETHNIC IDENTIFIER

It is not possible, using the ethnographic information now in print, to say when the Sxwaixwe image took on the function of a crest for the Salish. Certainly by the late 1800's, its image was widely distributed throughout Salish territories and the Sxwaixwe, both as a tool and as an image, had already been adopted by Salish groups that had not

originally owned it and by non-Salish groups as well. These latter, Nootka and Kwakiutl, integrated the Sxwaixwe into their own crest display systems where it lost its properties as a cleansing device but where it continued as a marker of a special connection to the Salish as a group (marriage, alliance, or war booty). In effect, it was a typically Salish marker for the non-Salish who used it.

In more recent times, it has also become a marker of Salishness to others. Curio items produced for the non-Indian market and for the Salish non-ceremonial market very soon adopted the Sxwaixwe as a marketable, recognizably Salish item. How else to explain the proliferation of Khahtsahlano mask miniatures, and the Sxwaixwe figurines in the Glenbow Museum, the Vancouver City Museum and the UBC Museum of Anthropology collections; the Sxwaixwe silkscreen print at the BCPM; and the carving and display of a Sxwaixwe mask by the young carver at the 1985-6 B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts Show; except as displays of Salishness to non-Salish buyers of 'Indian art' where recognizable ethnicity is highly marketable (Duffek 1983a, 1983c)?

But the Salish have had to display their Salishness to themselves and to other Northwest Coast Natives as well. In an art and anthropological climate in which Northern Northwest Coast art styles are the norm (Holm 1965, Ames 1984-85, Duffek 1983b), and under a cultural ideal of discretion and restraint (Suttles 1983), the Salish have been

hard pressed to display their Salishness. Again, the Sxwaixwe, as both image and dance, has served to identify them to non-Salish.

Totem poles, never a Salish art form, started to be carved with Sxwaixwe figures on them and to be erected on "White" territory as early as 1922 with the erection of a pole in Nanaimo, B.C. (VPL #9269 / PA 141086). Others followed, especially in Lummi areas. Today, there are debates over its use as a hand drawn logo on Indian band stationary (Bierwert 1987). The Sxwaixwe, as a dance, has been making its appearance at summer canoe races where large numbers of "Whites" are in attendance as tourists (Jilek 1982, Kew 1974).

The Sxwaixwe image, in these cases, cannot be seen either as a cleansing device or as a kin group identifier (a crest). It is very much acting as an ethnic identifier at the level of the Salish as a group relative to other groups. This identification of Salishness by the use of the Sxwaixwe image has even extended to its use (D9) as part of a painted Christmas window decoration by a white art store owner to advertise that he had Salish items for sale in his store.

7. SUMMARY

Examining the Sxwaixwe according to the Salish cultural patterns of ancestral benefactor, supernatural being, healer/transformer, male/female mediator, and bestower of

wealth, worth, and ethnic identity demonstrates how its production and use is a means of manipulating and defining power, be it spiritual, political, economic or social.

Spiritually, the Sxwaixwe acts to cleanse someone going through a life crisis situation and to reaffirm the importance of human/spirit partnerships. Politically, it serves to establish alliances between kin groups through marriage and the hiring of dancers, singers, and carvers from other localities and kin groups. Economically, it produces wealth through maintaining and enhancing the prestige of its owners. Socially, it expresses the interdependence and complementarity of male and female members of the kin group. It may hint at a deeper relationship as well. It also manipulates status through marriage bestowals, shamings, and the cleansings necessary to install someone in a new status after a life crisis. And it extends the range of status recognition beyond the household or the village, or even the dialect group, through the recognition that is bestowed on an owner by other owners when they agree to be hired by him or her. In doing so, they are acting as a corporate group which recognizes itself as an implicit kin group displaying a shared crest, the Sxwaixwe.

This extended use of the Sxwaixwe as a crest is logical considering the historical context. In a similar fashion to the Kwakiutl with their elaboration of winter ceremonials, and the Tsimshian with their elaboration of chiefly crests

(Halpin 1973) and raven rattles (Halpin 1978), the Salish Sxwaixwe's development from a representation of a kin group leader's special spirit bestowed power to that of a kin group crest may have been a response to contact with and colonization by white Europeans.

E - CONCLUSION

Five aspects of the production and use of the Sxwaixwe privilege contribute to its unique position in Salish society:

- 1) the bestowing of power to an individual, in this case the ancestor of the dancer;
- 2) the extension of that bestowal of power to an individual through his or her personal relationship with a spirit associate to the bestowal of that power to a corporate group, the kindred;
- 3) the ability of the Sxwaixwe to be used as a cleansing power to permit humans with power to take on aspects of non-humans so as to bring humans with xe'xe back to human status, i.e., normality;
- 4) the necessity for gender co-operation within the kin group to produce both the mask and the performance as well as gender equality in ownership and inheritance; and
- 5, the use of Sxwaixwe as a symbol of social rank and economic power otherwise publicly displayed by potlatch and secret societies in other Northwest Coast societies.

The last four of these Sxwaixwe aspects bear directly on Salish kin group development.

When, in Salish society, an individual enters into a

relationship with a supernatural associate through a spirit quest and receives power and prestige from this association, the relationship remains between the individual and the supernatural associate and is for the benefit of the individual. It is not transferable nor can it be shared. Sxwaixwe origin myths speak of just such an association between the original owner of the mask and privilege and the supernatural being that bestowed it. But, even though the Sxwaixwe, its benefits and privileges are spoken of as belonging to specific individuals within kin groups, as an inheritable property, they are really owned by the kin group as a corporate entity. The essential relationship is now between the Sxwaixwe, as acquired by a given ancestor, and the kin group. Ownership of and access to Sxwaixwe serve to define this kin group relative to other, non-Sxwaixwe owning groups. The Sxwaixwe mask, performance, and Sxwaixwe bearing objects, all serve to publicly display this difference.

The concept of xe'xe is normally taken to mean 'weakness' or 'vulnerability' seen as 'uncleanness' at a transition point in an individual's life, a dangerous ambiguity in one's state of being at a time of life crisis. These are all times of status change: birth, parturation, puberty, marriage, bereavement, acquisition of spirit dance power, illness and death. Cleansing rituals, and the Sxwaixwe among them, serve to 'wash away' this status ambiguity. But if we look at the status change events, one sees that they

all involve a possible change in kin associations: unmarried to married, non-parent to parent, married to widowed to marriageable, etc. It is upon this ambiguity in kin association that the Sxwaixwe acts.

The Sxwaixwe performance echoes elements of the origin myth. The ancestor had a disease which made him less human, an outcast, worthless, not fit company for other humans. Xe'xe makes a person less human too and dangerous to the status quo. Contact with the ancestor was dangerous for the underwater people (his spit caused them to have a skin ailment). People who are xe'xe are also potentially dangerous to others and must follow strict seclusion and prohibitions. The ancestor is restored to worth, to fit company with other humans when he washes the taint of humanness away from the supernatural beings. The person who is xe'xe is restored to worth, to normal humanness, when the taint of xe'xe is washed away by the Sxwaixwe. But now it is a human member of a corporate group which cures another member by assuming aspects of the supernatural being and these aspects are themselves aspects of ambiguity. The mask's iconography is a blend of human and animal. The animals all live in more than one realm, water/air or earth/water. They are all meat eating animals and are depicted in a generic fashion. They are themselves of the realm of the imaginary and not of the natural. It is as if, to paraphrase Halpin talking about the Tsimshian (1973:250), nothing in the natural world was available to describe what society now had to invent as a new

organizing principle.

In the origin myths, male and female co-operate to bring the Sxwaixwe into society. A man receives the mask from the supernatural entity and his sister brings it back to be used by others. The Sxwaixwe is for the benefit of both as siblings but they use it differently. He uses it within the receiving group and she brings it out of the group and into another. He defines the limits of the group and she augments the size of the group. Bilateral inheritance and the bestowing of the Sxwaixwe as a marriage gift produce the same results.

Co-operation between genders also occurs during the production and performance of the Sxwaixwe. Both male and female technological skills are required to produce the costume and mask including woodworking, fletching, cordmaking, textile production and basketry. Products from both hunting and gathering are used including feather, bird skin, baleen, cedar wood, cedar fibers, and leather. When performing, men are dancers and women are singers and musicians. Men hold and display the power and women control it. The dancers cannot leave their dressing enclosure until the women sing and the vigour of their movements reflect when the women sing or only drum, i.e., their dancing is uncontrolled and 'violent' until the women's singing calms them. In effect, the women control the rate of the dance and the men control the length since they choose when to re-enter

the dressing enclosure.

In the mechanisms by which ownership of the Sxwaixwe can be transferred, both male and female are involved. Men gain ownership through personal inheritance and they can transmit this ownership to their children. Through primogeniture, men can become group owners and custodians of the masks. They are the carvers and they teach new Sxwaixwe dancers as well as dancing themselves. They can also rent out their services to other owning groups.

Women also inherit directly and can transmit ownership to their children as well as make the use of the mask available to their husbands after marriage. They are the makers of the costume and the singers and drummers for the performance and they can also rent out their services to other owning groups.

Finally, the Sxwaixwe performance has taken on aspects of a wealth producing power and of potlatch and secret society displays as for instance when it is used during the 'work' taking place at winter spirit dances. The Sxwaixwe performances there are again purely social, status affirming and enhancing, and their use is restricted by inherited ownership to select kin groups.

In conclusion, the three different levels of iconography that have been identified for the Sxwaixwe mask confirm the needed ambiguity required to develop the Sxwaixwe complex as

a new marker for power. Aboriginal Salish society, though based on the concept of autonomous, unranked residency groups, was, at the time when the Sxwaixwe appears to have been developed, fundamentally unequal, with strong status distinctions for individuals, distinctions which cut across kin or residency group boundaries. The ethos of personal betterment and the attainment of personal high status was stimulated and reinforced by the belief in the restricted inheritability of privileges, names, and knowledge of good behaviour, and in the enhancement of status through the public display of these inherited privileges coupled with the possibility of differential success in all endeavours as a result of personal questing for spirit partnership and 'power'. An individual's status was not fixed but fragile and vulnerable and changes in the individual's physical, social and spiritual states, interpreted as life crisis events and sources of dangerous ambiguity, could jeopardize his or her status or rank relative to other individuals. The danger perceived was one of no longer fitting within the system or web of kin relationships. Cleansing rituals, using the language of spirituality but acting as social mechanisms of change, served to normalize an individual's state and kin relationships and thus to re-establish a former or establish a new status for the individual. These status changes occurred within the public forum of the summer 'ritual congregations' (Kew 1987, pers. com.) or potlatch and they served to make public and to validate an individual's change

of status within the kin group. The Sxwaixwe, as a cleansing device and privilege display, was well integrated within this system but differed from other inherited privileges and cleansing devices in that it was owned, produced and acted out by a kin group for the benefit of this kin group even though an individual was the focus of the ceremony. This fundamental difference was symptomatic of changes in Salish society which were leading towards the ranking of kin groups relative to each other while maintaining gender equality. The recent spread of the Sxwaixwe among the Salish and its contemporary use by them underline its adaptive function as social and ethnic identification in the modern world.

END NOTES

PART A

A1 I am following the custom established at the Museum of Anthropology and at the Department of Anthropology at UBC in writing the english spelling of this mask as 'Sxwaixw'. See Appendix Eight for alternate spellings of Sxwaixwe and Kwekwe.

PART B

B1 I have based my descriptions on major ethnographies (Barnett 1955/1975; Duff 1952b; Hill-Tout 1978; Jenness 1955/1979; Kew 1970; Smith 1940, Stern 1934; Suttles 1951, 1955) and on class notes I took during seminars on Salish culture led by Prof. Michael Kew at UBC (Anth 304, 502, 534)

B2 It is not always clear from the ethnographies how systems of bilateral inheritance work, especially when only male examples are given such as in this quote from Drucker. Two questions are raised by his use of a male based example: 1) is this a writing convention or a description of a male only prerogative, and 2) what does the mother give to either her son or her daughter, or said another way, what does the child inherit from the mother?

B3 I use this quote from Woodcock not so much for the weight of his authority but because his words express this idea best.

B4 Elmendorf (1984:287), after analyzing the verbal and functional categories specific to Coast Salish concepts of power, translates as "power granting entity" the Salish word that in English is usually glossed as "spirit".

B5 The main sources I have used in describing spirits and powers are Barnett (1955/1979), Duff (1952b), Hill-Tout (1978), Jenness (1955/1979), Kew (1970), and Suttles (1983).

B6 None of the ethnographies I have consulted give a Salish gloss for the English word "body", though all the ethnographers state that the Salish do use the concept.

B7 I am using Hill-Tout's (1904b) glosses for the Halkomelem as my main example. Other groups use different terms to name shamans and ritualists. Some also divide the tasks assigned to each differently. See Barnett, Duff, Hill-Tout, Jenness, Ray, etc.

B8 "Thus the only persons who could not be 'cleansed' were those without close ties to families which had cleansing

rites" (Suttles 1958:503). See Halpin (1973:104-106) for another look at outcasts or "worthless people" (Suttles 1966) as a moral condition rather than a status level.

B9 The non-Salish context of use of the Sxwaixwe is discussed in section C-5. "Non-Central Coast Salish Sxwaixwe".

B10 Interest in establishing and legitimizing claims to this privilege continue to be important. In 1984, a friend and I were visiting a curio shop in North Vancouver, close to the Capilano reserve. We struck up a conversation with the woman at the cash as she knew my friend. Once she found out that my research centered on Sxwaixwe masks and that I was attempting to establish an inventory of museum collections of these masks, she asked that I make my findings available to her. Her family had been trying to validate their claims to this right but needed to be able to find their family mask.

In 1990, I was contacted by a representative of a Salish band in B.C., also asking if I could help a band family find their lost mask. It had been taken from them as a result of the 'potlatch law' and they wished to have it repatriated from whatever collection it was now in.

B11 See also the account of the 1895 Saanetch potlatch described in the Victoria Colonist of May 27, 1895 and in Lewis (1895:337-344), as well as Suttles' (1982) description of a 'typical' potlatch.

B12 "Two kinds of songs are associated with the sxwayxwey. In the past, at any rate, on the morning of the day of the potlatch when the sxwayxwey was to be used, at dawn the owner beat a box drum and sang an incantation (.S²é|əw) that announced the event and, I believe, empowered the sxwayxwey with the ritual word" (Suttles 1983:77).

B13 The number of 'full' Sxwaixwe had to be even, from 2 to as many as the host could afford to hire. The 'half' Sxwaixwe seems to have been devised as a means of making up an even number. The 'Clown' Sxwaixwe seems not to have been counted in the number of 'full' Sxwaixwe who danced. For a discussion of the 'half' Sxwaixwe and the Clown, see sections C-3.2.8. Clown and C-3.2.9. Salmon and Half Sxwaixwe.

The largest number of dancers to have danced together at the same potlatch seems to be 10 or 12 as illustrated in the photographs of the Saanetch potlatch of 1895 described in the Victoria Colonist of May 27, 1895 and in Lewis (1895:337-344).

For other photographs of performances see Appendix Seven.

B14 "The dancers generally dressed in a room specially curtained off for them, and when they emerged the curtain was drawn aside by someone equally qualified to dance, since the supernatural power inherent in their costume might strike a layman with illness" (Jenness 1955/1979:72).

B15 "Later, as the sxwayxwey danced, the chorus of women sang a 'song for a person' (.stələməxəx...), which is either an inherited song or one composed for the occasion in order to wipe away an insult" (Suttles 1983:77).

B16 For a discussion of the use of ochre and special formulaic spells to dispel danger while dancing, see section C-2.8 Make-Up.

For a photograph of dancers getting ready inside their enclosure, see Barnett (1955/1975: Pl. XVII)

PART C

C1 The museums and archives with Salish holdings that I visited include:

- Alberta Provincial Museum (APM)
- British Columbia Provincial Museum (BCPM)
(now Royal British Columbia Museum)
- British Columbia Provincial Museum Photo Collection
(PmP)
- British Columbia Provincial Archives (BCPA)
- Glenbow Museum - Alberta Institute (GM)
(including its Riveredge Collection - RM)
- National Museum of Canada (NMC)
(now Canadian Museum of Civilization)
- Public Archives of Canada (PAC)
- Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)
- Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum (WSM)
- University of British Columbia - Museum of Anthropology
(UBC-MOA)
- University of British Columbia - Main Library Special
Collections (UBC-SC)
- Vancouver City Public Archives (VCPA)
- Vancouver Public Library Historical Photo Collection
(VPL)
- Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Museum
(WSHS)
- Whatcom Museum of History and Art (WMHA)

C2 The Vancouver Centennial Museum was closed the last two years that I was in Vancouver. I was not able to view their collections or accession records. Nevertheless, I was able to collect some information on their holdings by cross

referencing information in the UBC-MOA records, the Vancouver Archive records (especially their files on Khatsahlano), the Vancouver Public Library records, the UBC Main Library Special Collections records, the Kew Inventory of Salish Art and, also, information Suttles had published in his articles on the Halkomelem Sxwaixwe (1982, 1983).

Two mask fragments (possibly archaeological) are held in the Simon Fraser University Archaeology Museum. Their existence was confirmed by telephone conversation with one of their curators, but I was not able to see them.

Two masks are said to be part of the Tomahawk Barbecue Restaurant's decorations in North Vancouver, B.C. (Leslie Lincoln, pers. com. 1987). These are also historic masks said to be made for the tourist trade by Khatsahlano. I was not able to confirm their existence.

Martine Reid, curator of the Northwest Coast section of the Spirit Sings exhibit (Glenbow Museum 1987), informed me that she had seen Sxwaixwe like representations on a comb and two rattles that were part of the Rotterdam and St. Petersburg collections. Unfortunately, she did not have photographs of these items.

I have not included any of these items in my present inventory list of Sxwaixwe bearing objects.

I learned to be wary of provenience records as I examined museum accession and collection information. Some practices, such as naming all Vancouver Island Salish as "Cowichan", promote mistakes in identification. To paraphrase Halpin (1973:106), assigning the production of an artifact to the person who sells it is to ignore trade, intermarriage, and capture. I have tried to be sensitive to these concerns.

C3 Darrel Thiel, head curator of the WSHS in Tacoma, Washington, confirmed (pers. com. 13/10/1987) that the Tozier Collection had been held at the WSHS until the 1920's when it was sold off and dispersed to pay off Tozier's bad debts. The University of Washington Burke Museum received the baskets (Robin Wright, a curator at the Burke, confirmed this, pers. com. 12/10/1987). The Heye Foundation (MAI) received over 10,000 items and the remainder went to Mexico. Douglas Cole in his book *Captured Heritage* (1985) refers to the Tozier Collection.

C4 The Kew Inventory of Salish Art is comprised of a computerized listing of accession records for 950 (+) items compiled by Dr. Michael Kew and David Rozen in the late 1970's. Most of the items were photographed and catalogued. A copy of the inventory is now in the UBC - Museum of Anthropology. Collections surveyed include:

Alberta Provincial Museum (APM)
 American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)
 Berlin Museum of Ethnology (BMA)
 British Columbia Provincial Museum (BCPM)
 (now Royal British Columbia Museum)
 British Museum of Man (BMM)
 Field Museum of Natural History (FMNH)
 (formerly Chicago Natural History Museum)
 Glenbow Museum - Alberta Institute (GM)
 (includes the Riveredge Museum collection (RM))
 Museum of the American Indian (MAI) - Heye Foundation
 National Museum of Canada (NMC)
 (now Canadian Museum of Civilization)
 Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)
 Thomas Burke Memorial Washington Museum (WSM)
 University of British Columbia - Museum of Anthropology
 (MOA)
 Vancouver Centennial Museum (VCM)

The Bill Holm slide collection is held at the University of Washington - Thomas Burke Memorial Washington Museum. It contains photographs of a number of items in private collections in the Washington State area. I viewed part of this slide collection in October of 1987.

C5 Expanding on Saussure's work, Philip Pettit, in his book "The Concept of Structuralism" (19..:11) describes the paradigmatic approach as following this strategy:

1. Find distinctive features by reference to which any linguistic term may be differentiated from any other; the terms will differ in respect of which of these features they have and which they have not.

2. Assign a characterization in terms of these features to each term so that the term is sufficiently differentiated from each other.

3. Formulate syntagmatic laws governing which terms - that is, the terms with which features - may combine with which.

4. Isolate the differences between terms, which are important paradigmatically: the differences between terms which may replace one another.

C6 Eventually, geographic and temporal differences became apparent as well. For example, two masks (AMNH 16/4662 & MAI 16/2080) both curve back along their vertical plane (when seen from the side). Their lower jaws are also disproportionally narrow and short relative to their craniums. The way the eye socket shapes wrap around the outside edge of the masks is also particular to these two masks. The similarities they share cannot be ascribed to

their being the same type of mask: AMNH 16/4662 is a Sawbill A while MAI 16/2080 is a Beaver mask. Rather, they seem to me to have been made at the same place, if not by the same person. Yet AMNH 16/4662 is said to be a Katsie mask, while MAI 16/2080 is said to have been collected from Duncan.

C7 The main published works on Salish art are Calkin (1977), Feder (1983), Kew (1980a, 1980b), Stott (1975), Suttles (1982, 1983), Waterman (1930) and Wingert (1949a/1969, 1949b). There are also important unpublished works by Bierwert (1981, 1987) and Kew (1979, 1981).

C8 I am following Suttles' (1982:60) and Holm's (1965) lead in using descriptive words such as 'nose', 'eye', and 'brow' to refer to these features of the face represented by the mask as a whole.

C9 See Kew (1979) for an in-depth exposition of the distinctive features of the Salish engraving style.

C10 It is interesting to note that many of the most innovative and successful young contemporary Salish artists are women. They are expanding the range of items that can bear Salish designs and they are reinterpreting many of their culture's iconographic motifs. For example, recognizable Salish items now include sweaters and other knitted goods, woven garments and wall hangings, pottery (the Northwest Coast Indians had no pottery), jewellery, and silk screen prints. The pottery is especially interesting. Some of it consists of oval lidded pots in red clay with flat black decorations in spindle whorl motifs. These are painted on the convex side of the circular lid which is made with a central hole, exactly like the spindle whorl to which it refers.

The re-emergence of Salish weaving has created a new prestige item for inter tribal display. Hand woven blankets, coats, vests, dancer's leggings, and other items of apparel are now being worn to winter dances and serve to enhance the wearer's and the maker's status and prestige. Woven blankets, when available, are the most prestigious items to give away. They are draped on the person to be named, then given away to specific witnesses (Kew, pers. comm. 2/10/87).

One young woman artist especially, Susan (Sparrow) Point is justifiably famous for her silkscreen prints reinterpreting images taken from spindle whorls and other Salish carvings. Her first images were almost copies of the original items. Her more recent pieces see her playing with the forms, and inventing new ones, still within the vocabulary of Salish art.

I suspect that women Salish artists may not be under the same restrictions as Salish men in producing decorated items

(see Suttles 1983:67-87) because they are making non-traditional items in non-traditional ways.

C11 It would be interesting to know when various kinds of European paints were introduced on the coast. This might help us date some of the painted specimens we have from 1900 on.

Researchers at the Canadian Conservation Institute have done some preliminary analysis of paints on Northwest Coast Masks (Miller 1986, Williams 1980) mainly to assist in the detection of fakes. Williams states that acrylic medium, which is frequently used in contemporary paints, was first added to commercial paints in 1953 (1980:6). The same article includes a chart of pigment analysis for (in part) nine Northwest Coast masks collected between 1879 and 1911. Unfortunately, none of them are Salish.

Even without knowing the composition of the paint, some observations can still be made. Curio masks (such as the Khahtsahlano masks in the Glenbow - Riveredge collection) and masks made after 1920 are more often painted in glossy paint and use this paint, instead of engraving, to add details to the mask. Some contemporary masks (made after 1950?) are 'coloured' with a dark brown wood stain and then detailed in paint (ROM 971.306.8, BCPM 13884).

C12 It would be interesting to find out why the colours described in the myths do not match the colours actually painted on early masks. At the present time, I can find no reason to explain this.

C13 This juxtaposition of seclusion and danger seems to resemble that of the Tsimshian nax'nox (Halpin 1973) or that of Kwakiutl Secret Society dancers (Jenness 1955/1979:73).

Amoss (1978:58) speaks of the seclusion of the new dancer from the Sxwaixwe as the danger of confrontation between two distinct ritual categories. It might also be argued that we have here the celebration of two distinct social phenomena: the inclusion into full adulthood with the spirit dancer, and the exclusion of non-owners with the dancing of the Sxwaixwe.

C14 The presence or absence of these holes might serve to identify modern masks intended to be worn from those meant as wall decorations. Some Khahtsahlano curio masks have these holes because they probably originally had feathers stuck in them but these masks tend to be very small compared to dance masks. See the masks held in the Glenbow - Riveredge collection and the Marion Scott mask (MS 1).

C15 According to the Golden Field Guide of Birds of North America (1966:38), whistling swans (*Olor columbianus*) range throughout British Columbia and trumpeter swans (*Olor*

buccinator) sometimes overwinter on the Western Pacific Coast.

C16 The 'eye' motif seems especially important in Salish iconography. It occurs alone on spindle whorls, stone carvings, and as a modern weaving pattern. The Sxwaixwe mask is recognized by its prominent peg eyes. The clown dancer tries to blind the Sxwaixwe and the new Spirit Dancer's hat is constructed in such a way that its hair fringe hides him from sight, and makes it difficult for him to see as well. Both Wingert (1949:90-1) and Carlson (1983a:162) have noticed its importance, Carlson even going so far as to name a specific eye shape the 'Salish angled eye' motif.

See Levi-Strauss (1975, 1979, 1982) for a structural analysis of motifs of sight and blindness in Northwest Coast Art.

C17 Who were these women and what were their relationships to the male dancers? Were they sisters, like in the myths?

C18 This 'fish spirit' might also refer to fishers or otters (J.V. Powell, pers. comm. 1987). See Suttles (1975:75-77) for the etymology of the sawbill, snake and ghost mask names.

C19 As early as 1939, Barnett was stating that the "variations in the nose of the swaihwe made it owl, beaver, raven, etc." (1939:293 quoted in Wingert 1949:15, fn 40).

C20 David Rozer (pers. comm. 1987) assured me that a contemporary salmon mask did exist, but that it was very rare. He did not describe it to me.

C21 Though the Nanaimo mask (BMM 4928) that is thought to be the oldest known is unique in style, it is still recognizable as a Raven mask because of the shape of its nose bird. Its cheek decorations match no others I have been able to find except for a modern reproduction of it (NTC-d) illustrated in Schiell (1990:60).

The UBC-MOA mask, A 6811, was said to be four generations old when it was acquired by the museum in 1954. This would put it in use sometime around 1870. It would therefore be contemporaneous with the Nanaimo mask.

C22 Mention is made in some origin myths of the Sxwaixwe image also occurring as petroglyphs:

The Sooke say that the Transformer came first to Sooke, but realizing that the Sooke would not want it ("We don't want it here because it's not from dreams, just a made up song."), he threw four masks up onto the cliff outside the inlet, where they may still be seen (Suttles 1974:408).

Khaals gave the Indians the wooden mask at Sooke, where one can be seen to-day pecked into a rock (Jenness 1955/1979:91).

The Samish originally had the *Sx̣ẉáix̣ẉe* mask but when the Flood came it floated away and drifted up to the Canadian side. On the southeast face of Blakeley Island is a rock that looks like a *Sx̣ẉáix̣ẉe*..... This was one that was changed by the Transformer (Suttles 1974:408).

I have no photographs of any of these petroglyphs and have not included them in my inventory of images.

C23 Suttles (1976:83-4) states that "the Nooksack and the Lower (Douglas) Lillooet both set up monuments carved to represent the *sxwayxwey*." I found no examples of the Nooksack figures.

C24 Of carved houseposts (and possibly mortuary sculptures) Kew (1980a:7) speculates that "such visual emblems of ancestor figures may have been especially important as forceful reminders of a common origin shared by members of the loosely structured families".

Pmp 6020 shows two unpainted masks leaning against a fence in a graveyard on Kuper Island. Could these be masks belonging to someone now buried in this cemetery?

C25 Hair, also, seems to be a culturally important image for the Salish. Hair is cut off as a sign of mourning. Slaves have short hair. Women, even today, wear their hair quite long. The Spirit Dancer wears a hat topped with long human hair (whose hair?). In the *Sxwaixwe* myths, the man's sister uses her hair to make a fishing line to fish the mask out of the water.....

C26 There is a Kwakiutl wood rattle (Pmp 6465a), shaped like a bird's body with wings folded flat, which has a *Sxwaixwe*-like image carved on the belly of the bird. It strongly resembles a similar rattle (A 8283) and a carved bowl (A 7981) in the UBC-MOA collection.

C27 "A number of ancient specimens prove the existence of a fixed style in this region, representative, but differing in character from the style of the Northwest coast" (Boas 1927/1955:285).

C28 A representative of the Stalo Band phoned me during the summer of 1992 and again in the spring of 1993. He had been asked to track down some family property that had been lost over the years, mainly through government confiscation and

museum acquisition. One piece of property was a stone Sxwaixwe bowl, another was a Sxwaixwe mask. He asked that neither his name nor that of the families involved be mentioned. I agreed to respect his request.

C29 See Levi-Strauss (1975, 1979, 1982) for discussions of the semiotic differences between the Salish Sxwaixwe and the Kwakiutl Kwekwe. He perceives them as reversals of each other along a number of axis of meaning.

C30 Since the (temporary) establishment of a Salish Carving School at the Washington Museum of History and Art (WMHA 1971), new variations on the Kwekwe type have been evolved by the Lummi. One I have named Kwekwe E. It is characterized by peg eyes, a rectangular silhouette, a bird beak nose, no tongue, and white paint. I know of only two examples: WMHA (1971:29) #3 and WMHA (1971:29) #4.

Lummi carvers, Dale James and Al Charles who taught at this carving school, also produced examples of Kwekwe D: WMHA (1971:29) #2 and WMHA (1971:29) #5.

Boas (1897:516, fig 170) illustrates a mask which he calls a 'Xoa'exoe but which looks like a Kwakiutl Gonakadeh (Sea Wealth Monster) mask. This mask is listed by Boas as FMNH 19266. Levi-Strauss (1982:44) also illustrates a similar mask with no tongue and with four auxiliary birds, one at each corner of the mask, facing in. It is possible that a certain confusion between the Gonakadeh and the Kwekwe exists for the Kwakiutl. Certainly, both types of masks have protruberent eyes and are wealth producers.

Another pair of masks which seem to be in ambiguous association are the Tal masks and the Sxwaixwe. Barnett goes so far as to say that in the Northern Coast Salish areas these masks were confused with each other (1955/1975:174-75).

C31 Two Salish Sxwaixwe masks held at the Alberta Provincial Museum (H76.100.73, H76.100.74) show very strong Nootkan influences in their use of colour and painted designs. A third mask (H76.100.75), which was collected at the same time from the same owner, is a Nootkan wolf mask with its traditional flat board sides and paint colours and designs. They are dated 1930-1940.

A Bella Coola mask (MOA A 1958), held at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, is very similar to a Nootka Kwekwe.

C32 The Vancouver Centennial Museum has the largest holding of artifacts carved by Khatsahlano in the 1920's and 1930's. He is thought to have carved at least 27 Sxwaixwe masks for sale to tourists. The next largest holding of his work is at the Glenbow Museum in their Riveredge Collection.

C33 Other Salish "artists" of the period are Simon Charlie on Vancouver Island and Morrie Alexander of the Lummi.

C34 This gavel was carved by Khahtsalahno for the Daughters of the Empire, Kitsilano Branch prior to 1948. A photograph of it is held in the Vancouver City archives (IN.P.73, Neg.43).

See Kew (1981) for a discussion of the Salish entry into the Northwest Coast Art market.

C35 The UBC Museum of Anthropology and the Washington Museum of History and Art have been sponsoring workshops for Native youths on carving in various Northwest Coast styles since the late 1970's. Increasing interest in understanding and producing specifically Salish art forms was developing in both the Canadian and American Salish communities when I left B.C. in the late 1980's.

PART D

D1 Main sources of origin myths are Codere (1948), Duff (1952b), Suttles (1974), and Hill-Tout.

D2 Legend says that the Sxwaixwe was brought to Semiahmoo by "a young woman who dropped from the sky at daybreak ... She became the ancestor of the family that claims these two privileges" (the flat, oval rattle of wood with large downy eagle plumes in a fringe around the edge and the Sxwaixwe) (Suttles 1974:407).

D3 Moving in a counter-clockwise fashion is the ritual movement in all Salish dance (Kew 1979:21), including the Sxwaixwe and winter Spirit Dances.

D4 It is interesting to note that the Sxwaixwe is an animal overlay on a human base while the Kwekwe is a human overlay on an animal base (Wingert 1949:62).

D5 This resembles the lack of 'power' or ability of those without family knowledge, social position (slaves and worthless people), and those without spirit partnership.

Other forms of the clown, such as the use of an Iroquois false face mask or the man dressed in a woman's black dress using a purse as a rattle, have been neither as popular nor as successful as the dancer using the MOA clown mask (MOA A 6475) (Kew, personal communication, 4/1986).

D6 Duff (1955b:125) quotes an informant who explains the difference in masks this way:

Two Musqueam men ... asked to copy the mask ...

They made one copy here (Hope/Sardis), then went home and made a lot, changing them a little. They sold them, and that is why they are scattered all over. We don't begrudge them these false masks. They are made different from the original.

It is interesting that Duff's informant defines as false these masks which are "made different from the original".

Wingert (1949a:15, fn 40) speculates that

An alternate interpretation of the use of the bird or animal heads on the masks is that they were intended to associate the privilege of wearing the mask with specific groups. Towards this end, the animals or birds would be emblematic of the gentes who possessed these masks, which Boas implies in his first account of them when he states that they represented "either beavers, or ducks, and spring salmon" (Boas 1889:324); while Barnett states that the "variations in the nose of the swaihwe made it owl, beaver, raven, etc" (Barnett 1939:293).

Later he says:

Equally noteworthy is the use of animal or bird forms to function as facial features of the mythological beings whose heads the masks represent. These forms may also have served to give to the traditional pattern of the sxwaixwe mask individualized elements which would help to identify the mask as the prerogative of a specific group of persons whose powers or privileges it represented.

The existence of so many snake masks for the years between 1910 and 1940 can be explained by the ownership by inheritance of two snake Sxwaixwe masks by August Jack Khahtsahlano. These he reinterpreted at least 20 times as mask miniatures for the tourist market (Marion Scott, gallery owner and collector, personal communication, 1986).

D7 Halpin (1973:106) has argued that it might be advantageous to consider status for the Tsimshian as a gradation from minus to plus, i.e. minus Tsimshian, Tsimshian, plus Tsimshian would equal lower, middle, and high class.

Kew (pers. comm, 1984) has argued something similar for the Salish: xe'xe human, human, human with power, power granting entity as also a gradation from minus to plus, except that the quality which changes is power/ability which then gets translated into status.

D8 Boas (1927/1955:281) has argued for a late development of the crest idea in the south of the Northwest Coast. Kew (10/3/87) has stated that representations of the fisher and the Sxwaixwe are what comes closest the crest figures for the Salish.

D9 The window painting was part of the Tale of the Totem Gallery, 356 Water Street, Vancouver, B.C., Christmas decorations (1986). The artist (who is Indian but not Salish) got the Sxwaixwe mask pattern out of the Dover colouring book on Northwest Coast Indians (Rickman 1984:30).

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APPENDIX ONE - OBJECTS IN DATA SET
Listed by accession or photograph number

Acc. #	Item	Earliest Date	Where/By Whom Coll.
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ALBERTA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM (APM) - Edmonton

H76.100.73	Sxwaixwe mask	1930-1940	
H76.100.74	Sxwaixwe mask	1930-1940	

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (AMNH)

2/8503	Pile Driver		George Hunt
6/9153	Kwekwe mask		
16/4662	Sxwaixwe mask	1898	Katzie
16/4693	grave post	1898	Comox
16/4694	grave post	1898	Comox
16/4698	house post	1898	Comox
16/4724	Sxwaixwe mask	1898	Comox
16/7075	grave post	1899	Lillooet
16/8382	Kwekwe mask		
16/9222	Sxwaixwe mask	1903	Stalo
	& attachments		
16.1/1871	Sxwaixwe mask	1929	Cowichan
19/269	Kwekwe mask		Fort Rupert
20/347	horn rattle	1890-1900	

Photos:

31200	grave post		Lillooet
2838737	Kwekwe mask		

ASHWELL (1977:18)

	Sxwaixwe mask		Simon Charlie
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BARNETT (1955/1975: Pl.17)

left	Sxwaixwe mask		
center	Sxwaixwe mask		
right	Sxwaixwe mask		

BELLINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY - Bellingham, Washington (BPL)

BPL IND 321 d	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 321 e	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 321 f	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 321 g	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 322 a	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 322 b	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 322 c	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve

BPL IND 322 d	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 322 e	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve
BPL IND 322 f	Lummi mask	1940-1956	Lummi reserve

BERLIN MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY / MUSEUM FÜR VOLKERKUNDE (BMA) - Berlin

IV-A 420	Kwekwe mask	1897	A. Jacobsen
IV-A-1838	shell rattle	1897	A. Jacobsen
IV-A-2323	grave post	1881-83	Comox
IV-A-2324	Sxwaixwe mask	1881-83	Nanaimo
IV-A-2325	Sxwaixwe mask	1881-83	Nanaimo
IV-A-2326	Sxwaixwe mask	1881-83	Comox

BORDEN (1983:163)
DhRt2 comb Late Period Stselax Phase

BORDEN (1983:139)
Fig. 8:9 mask Milliken Site

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM (BCPM) - Victoria, B.C.
now Royal British Columbian Museum

ER-y-835	stone face		Lytton/Lillooet
2364	Sxwaixwe mask	1912	Cowichan
5035	Kwekwe mask		
8502-3	mask wands	1957	Chemainus
12928	Sxwaixwe mask	1967	Duncan
13884 A-I	Sxwaixwe mask	1971	Cowichan
	& attachments		
14579	Sxwaixwe mask	1974	Musqueam
14715	Sxwaixwe mask	1963	Squamish, Khahtsahlano
14857	Kwekwe mask	1975	Campbell River
15984	Sxwaixwe mask	1977	Saanich
16663	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1910	Cowichan
17297	Silkscreen print	1981	Capilano

photographs:

Pmp 1157	house post in situ		see AMNH 16/4698
Pmp 1158	grave figure	1903	Ruby Creek
Pmp 1408	grave house	1867-70	Yale
Pmp 1444	Sxwaixwe dancer	c.1910	
Pmp 1472/	Clown dancer		
Pmp 15438			
Pmp 6020	masks in graveyard		Kuper Island
Pmp 6464a	wood rattle		Duncan
Pmp 11405	grave figure	1898	Lillooet
Pmp 11410	grave figure	1898-99	Lillooet
Pmp 11446a/b	grave figures	1863-67	Nanaimo
Pmp 14973-	Sxwaixwe dancer		

Pmp 14976			
Pmp 15438	Sxwaixwe mask		
Pmp 31200	grave figure		held at AMNH

BRITISH MUSEUM OF MAN (BMM) - London

1979 AM 3 62	Sxwaixwe mask	1930's	Lummi
2286	comb	1865-68	Christy Collection
4928	Sxwaixwe mask	1864	Nanaimo, F. Whympers
Van 158	rattle		(Feder 1983:52)

BURROW & GRABERT (1968:23)

Kwekwe mask

CARLSON (1983:203)

Fig. 11:6 miniature mask

CARTER (1968:97)

Nootka mask

DENVER ART MUSEUM (DAM) - Denver

NCow-1	Sxwaixwe mask	1935	Duncan, G. Emmons
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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (FMNH) - Chicago

19269	Kwekwe mask		
85464 a-b	mask wands	1903-04	Cowichan, Newcombe
85465	mask wand	1903-04	Cowichan, Newcombe
85480	Sxwaixwe mask & attachments	1903-04	Nanaimo, Newcombe

Photos:			
18982	house post	1903-04	Nanaimo, Newcombe

GLENBOW MUSEUM (GM) - Calgary

AA 302	model mask	1965	
AA 674	Sxwaixwe mask	1965	Cowichan
AA 1130	Hawk mask	1967	Squamish
AA 1150	horn rattle		
AA 1235	Eagle mask	1967	Squamish

HOLM SLIDE SET (BHS)

TAG 1	Sxwaixwe figurine	private collection
VIC 75-C-1	Xwexwe mask	
VIC 76-C-1	Xwexwe plume holder	

HOLM (1983:114)

Fig. 184	housepost	1910	Quatsino Sound
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INVERARITY (1950:1971)

Fig. 60	Lummi mask	c. 1940
Fig. 61	Lummi mask	c. 1940

J.H. HAUBERG (JHH) - Private Collection

1. (Holm 1984, Sxwaixwe mask c.1870 Kuper Island
fig.28) & attachments
2. (Holm 1984, Kwakiutl house 1910 Quatsino Sound, Boas
post 1897 fig. 194)

J. INGLIS (JI) - Private Collection, Bill Holm Slide Set

1. Sxwaixwe mask

JILEK (1982:96)

fig. 26	Totem pole	Lummi
fig. 34	Sxwaixwe mask 1970	Stalo
fig. 29 left	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 29 right	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 30	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 31 left	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 31 right	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 33 left	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 33 center	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam
fig. 33 right	Sxwaixwe dancer 1978	Musqueam

M. JOHNSON (MJ) - Private Collection, Bill Holm Slide Set

1. Sxwaixwe mask
& attachments
2. comb

KWAKIUTL MUSEUM (KM) - Cape Mudge

979.1.90ab	Sxwaixwe mask & attachments	Comox
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McMICHAEL CANADIAN COLLECTION (McC) - Kleinberg

S 137	Sxwaixwe mask	1870	Comox
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MARION SCOTT LTD (MS) - Vancouver

1.	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1925	Vancouver, Vanguard Magazine 3/85
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MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM (MPM)

17333	Kwekwe mask	1915	S.A. Barrett
17334	Kwekwe mask	1915	S.A. Barrett
17335	Kwekwe mask	1915	S.A. Barrett

MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN (MAI) - Heye Foundation

2/8503	pile driver	c.1890	Kwakiutl, G. Hunt
5/257	grave post	1916	Fraser river
6/9153	Kwekwe mask		(Tozier?)
6/9935	Kwekwe mask		Frazer river, Tozier
16/2080	Sxwaixwe mask	1928	Duncan/Cowichan
18/1062	Sxwaixwe mask	1930	Duncan/Cowichan
18/1063	Sxwaixwe mask	1931	Duncan/Cowichan
18/6941	Sxwaixwe mask		(KC #570)
18/8819	Sxwaixwe mask	1935	Clemclemalits/Cowichan
18/8822	Leggings	1935	Clemclemalits/Cowichan
20/9830	Sxwaixwe mask	1948	Saanich

photo:			
Ec 746	Sxwaixwe collar	1935	Clemclemalits
	leggings, rattle		

NANAIMO MUSEUM (NM) - Nanaimo

Pmp 14973-	dancer in ghost	c.1980	photograph
14976	mask		

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA (PAC) - Ottawa

C 20825	Masked Dancer	Curtis 9-326
C 34787	Masked Dancer	Curtis 9-116
C 34796	Cowichan mask	Curtis 9-114

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA (NMC) - Ottawa/Hull
now the Canadian Museum of Civilization

VII-G-1	box	1910	Nanaimo
VII-G-162	anklets	1890's	Songhees
VII-G-163	anklets	1890's	Songhees
VII-G-164	anklets		
VII-G-197	wooden spoon	1928	
VII-G-335	Sxwaixwe mask	1929	Nanaimo
VII-G-336ab	leggings	1929	Nanaimo
VII-G-425ab	garters	c.1900	Cowichan
VII-G-609	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1900	Cowichan?
VII-G-654	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1900	Cowichan?
VII-G-689	dance staff	1950-71	Kuper Island
VII-X-1268- 1275	Sxwaixwe costume	1925	
photo:			
NMC 71402- 71404	dancer	1928	H.I. Smith film stills Musqueam

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF FINLAND (NMF)

45-5424 Sxwaixwe mask

D. PASCOE (DP) - Private Collection

1. Sxwaixwe mask 1980's Seattle

PHILBROOK ART CENTRE (PHAC)

82.1.70 Sxwaixwe mask 1880's Kwakiutl

RIVEREDGE MUSEUM (RM) (Collection held by Glenbow Museum) -
Calgary

R 52.200	Kwekwe mask	1967	Echo Bay
R 180-259	bone carving/mask		Hoperun
R 180.166 a-b	shell rattle	1967	Echo Bay
R 512.2	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver - August Jack
R 512.6	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.7	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.35	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.36	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.38	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.39	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.46	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 512.48	figure		Vancouver

R 512.49	Sxwaixwe mask		Vancouver
R 548.23	figure	1969	Vancouver
R 548.24	figure	1969	Vancouver
R 1108.10	shell rattle	1970	Nootka?
R 1484.18	Fool's mask	1972	
R 1612.29	rattle	1972	Squamish
R 2086.1	Kwekwe mask		Comox
R 2086.2	Kwekwe mask		

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (ROM) - Toronto

935.29.3	Sxwaixwe mask	1935	Nanaimo
971.306.8	Sxwaixwe mask	1971	Cowichan
2796	Sxwaixwe mask		

SHIELL (1990:60-61) - Dr. Norman Todd Collection (NTC)

NTC-A	Sxwaixwe mask	mink
NTC-B	Sxwaixwe mask	beaver
NTC-C	Sxwaixwe mask	salmon
NTC-D	Sxwaixwe mask	raven (copy BMM 4928)
NTC-E	Sxwaixwe mask	raven
NTC-F	Sxwaixwe mask	eagle

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGY LAB (SFU)

Archaeo 1	Mask fragment
Archaeo 2	Mask fragment

STERN (1934/1969:114, pl.v.)

left	Lummi mask
right	Lummi mask

TERRI JAY		
photo 2017	totem pole	Qualicum, Simon Charlie

THOMAS BURKE MEMORIAL WASHINGTON STATE MUSEUM (WSM) - Seattle

1-144	Sxwaixwe mask	1940	Lummi Island
2.5/690	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1920	Khahtsahlano
1977.26/1	Sxwaixwe mask	c.1920	Khahtsahlano

UBC - MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY (UBC-MOA) - Vancouver

A 1958	Bella Coola mask	
A 2353	figure	1974 Musqueam

A 4095	Kwekwe mask	1952	Kingcome Inlet
A 6116	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6216	Kwekwe mask	1952	Blunden Harbour
A 6473	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6474	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6475	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6546	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6811	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6812	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6813	Sxwaixwe mask	1954	Musqueam
A 6888 ab	leggings	1958	Cowichan
A 7981	carved representation		
A 7983	Kwekwe mask	1962	Turnour Island
A 8283	carved bowl	1932	Quatsino
A 8546	Nootka mask	1905	Friendly Cove
A 8547	Nootka mask	1905	Friendly Cove
A 9329-	Sxwaixwe mask	1970	Quamichan
A 9337	& attachments		
A 9330	collar		
A 9331	shell rattle		
A 9332	mask bundle		
A 9333 c-c	wands		
A 9334 a-k	flexible wands		
A 9335 a-b	leggings		
A 9336 a-f	feather strands		
A 9337	box		
DjRi3:11142	stone spindle	800 AD?	Milliken Site
	whorl		
DjRn10:1	stone bowl		Hatzic Lake
photos:			
MOA A-80		1949	Musqueam practice
MOA A-81		1949	Musqueam practice
MOA A-83		1949	Musqueam practice
MOA A-85		1949	Musqueam practice
MOA A-295	W.Duff photo	1949	Musqueam practice
MOA A-81685	winter dance		Tulalip

UBC - SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (UBC-SC) - Vancouver

BC 647a	Nootka mask
BC 647b	Nootka mask

VANCOUVER CENTENIAL MUSEUM (VCM) - Vancouver

AA 138	Sxwaixwe mask	Musqueam
AA 139	Sxwaixwe mask	Musqueam
AA 152	Sxwaixwe mask	Squamish
AA 670	figure	(Khahtsalano?)
AA 1009	dance staff	
AA 1525	shell rattle	

AA 2273 a-b	Sxwaixwe mask	1936	see Khat. book
AA 2274	Sxwaixwe mask		see above
AA 2275	Sxwaixwe mask		see above
AA 2276	Sxwaixwe mask		see above
AA 2279	shell rattle		Squamish ?
973.6-12	feather dusters attached to mask		

VANCOUVER CITY ARCHIVES (VCA) - Vancouver
(some of the collection may be held by the VCM)

IN.P.55,Neg.33	Sxwaixwe Mask	1942	Khahtsahlano's great grandfather's mask Matthews 1955:152C
IN.P.56,Neg.34 (VCM-AA2275?)	Sxwaixwe Mask	1942	Khahtsahlano's grandfather's mask Matthews 1955:152D
IN.P.53,Neg.31.1	Sxwaixwe Mask	1942	Khahtsahlano's father's mask Matthews 1955:152E
IN.P.31a,b,c	Three Sxwaixwe Drawings	1937	3 dancers including clown
IN.P.73,Neg.43	Gavel	1948	Sxwaixwe carved on gavel head by Khahtsahlano
IN.CVP.32,Neg.14	House Model	1940's	2 Sxwaixwe exterior houseposts, carved by Khahtsahlano

VANCOUVER PUBLIC LIBRARY - HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION
(VPL)

9269	Totem pole	1922	Nanaimo
20700	Sxwaixwe mask	1941	Lipsett Museum (VCM?)

WHATCOM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART (WMHA)

67.8.1	Mask	1916	Lummi
67.8.2	Mask	1916	Lummi
85.16.1	Mask	before 1975	Lummi

WHATCOM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART (WMHA n.d.:61)

top	Kwekwe mask
bottom	Kwekwe mask

WHATCOM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART (WMHA 1968:23)

1	Sxwaixwe mask	Lummi
2	Mask	Lummi

WHATCOM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART (WMHA 1971:29)

1	Sxwaixwe mask	1971
2	Kwekwe	1971
3	Kwekwe	1971
4	Kwekwe	1971
5	Kwekwe	1971

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (WSHS) - Tacoma (Thompson 1986:12)

1	house post	mid 1800's Lummi
2	Mask	mid 1800's Makah
3	grave figure	

X. HOOPER (XH) - Private Collection, Bill Holm Slide Collection

1.	comb
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APPENDIX TWO

Halkomelem Sxwaixwe Masks Listed by Type

SAWBILL A (18)

NMC Fred Modeste #
AMNH 16.1/1871 +
APM-H76.100.74 @
BCPM 16663 \$
DAM-NCow-1
DP-1 #
GM-AA 674
Jilek 1982:96, 31L
Jilek 1982:96, 33L
Jilek 1982:96, 33C
Jilek 1982:96, 33R
MAI 18/1062 +
MAI 20/9830 @
NMC 71402 - 71404
PAC C 20825
UBC-MOA A 6474 +
VPL 20700 @
VCA IND.P.56,Neg.34 #

SAWBILL B (7)

Barnett 1955,PL17,L
JI-1 #
Jilek 1982:96, 29R
MAI 18/1063 +
PAC C 34787
ROM 971.306.8 @
VCM-AA 2275

SAWBILL C (3)

AMNH 16/9222 +
NMF 45-5424 +
PAC C 34796

RAVEN A (6)

BMM 4928 #+
GM-AA 302 @
JILEK 1982:96,31R @
KM 979.1.90ab
NTC-D #
NTC-E #

RAVEN B (10)

BCPM 2364 +
FMNH 85480 +
UBC-MOA A 6811 +
NMC-VII-G-654
PHAC 82.1.70
BCPM 12928 %
BCPM 15984 %
MAI 18/8819
JILEK 1982:96p
BMA-IV-A-2325 +

EAGLE (9)

APM-H 76.100.73 @
AMNH 16/4662 #+
MAI 18/8819
MJ 1
BMA-IV-A-2324
NTC-F #
UBC-MOA A 6546 %+
COMBES #
JHH 1

GHOST (5)

UBC-MOA A 6116 +
UBC-MOA A 6812 %
UBC-MOA A 9329 +
NM-Pmp 14973-6
VCM-AA 139

BEAVER (8)

BMA-IV-A-2326 #
MAI 16/2080 +
ROM 2796 +
ROM 935.29.3
ASHWELL 1977:18
NTC-B
VCM-AA 138 \$
JILEK 1982:96, 29L

CLOWN (5)

RM-R.1484.18 #
UBC-MOA A 6475 +
VCM-AA 152 \$
Pmp 15438
VCA IN.P.31 c

SNAKE (18)

AMNH 16/4724 #+
 RM-R. 512.6 @
 RM-R. 512.2 @
 RM-R. 512.7 @
 RM-R. 512.36 @
 UBC-MOA A 6473 +
 UBC-MOA-A 6813 %+
 WMHA 1968:23, Fig. 1
 MS-1
 WSM 2.5/690 @
 VCM-AA 2273ab @
 VCM-AA 2274 @
 BCPM 14715 \$
 VCA IN.P.55, Neg.33
 VCA IN.P.53, Neg.31.1 @
 BARNETT 1955/1975, Pl.17C
 WMHA 1971:29, Fig.1
 WSM 1977.26/1 @

MINK (5)

McM-S 137 +
 NMC-VII-G-335 +
 NMC-VII-G-609 +
 NTC-A
 BCPM 13884

MYSTERY (9)

VCM-AA 2276 \$
 BCPM 14579 \$
 RM-R. 512.35 \$@
 RM-R. 512.38 \$@
 RM-R. 512.39 \$@
 PM-R. 512.46 \$@
 RM-R. 512.49 \$@
 SFU-ARCHAEO 1 \$
 SFU-ARCHAEO 2 \$

SALMON (1)

NTC-C

Symbol Code:

@ curio / wall plaque / not ment to be worn
 # untypical
 \$ no illustration available
 % reproduction / copy
 + masks in original componential analysis sample

Mystery: masks for which I have no photograph or illustration.

APPENDIX THREE
Objects Photographed or Collected prior to 1900

DATE	OBJECT	LOCATION	ACCESSION/PHOTO	COLLECTOR
1790-95	rattle	?	BM-VAN 158	G.G.Hewitt
mid 1800's	grave post	Lummi	WMHS (Thompson 1986:12)	
1863-1867	grave figure	Nanaimo?	Pmp 11446 (a)	
1863-1867	grave figure	Nanaimo?	Pmp 11446 (b)	
1864	mask	Nanaimo	BMM 4928	F. Whympers
1865-1868	comb	Columbia R?	BMM 2286	Christy
1867-1870	grave house	Yale	Pmp 1408	F. Dally
c. 1870	mask & wands	Kuper Is.	JHH 1	
1880's	mask	Kwakiutl	PHAC 82.1.61	
1881-1883	grave post	Comox	BMA IV-A-2323	Jacobsen
1881-1883	mask	Nanaimo	BMA IV-A-2324	Jacobsen
1881-1883	mask	Nanaimo	BMA IV-A-2325	Jacobsen
1881-1883	mask	Comox	BMA IV-A-2326	Jacobsen
1890-1900	horn rattle	Vancouver	AMNH 20/347	
1893	house post	Nanaimo	FMNH 18982	
1898	grave figure	Lillooet	Pmp 11405	H.I. Smith
1898	mask	Katzie	AMNH 16/4662	
1898	grave post	Comox	AMNH 16/4693	H.I. Smith
1898	grave post	Comox	AMNH 16/4694	H.I. Smith
1898	house post	Comox	AMNH 16/4698	H.I. Smith
1898	mask	Comox	AMNH 16/4724	H.I. Smith
1898-1899	grave figure	Lillooet	Pmp 11410	H.I. Smith
1898-1899	grave figure	Lillooet	AMNH 31200	H.I. Smith
1899	grave post	Lillooet	AMNH 16/7075	H.I. Smith
c. 1900	mask	Cowichan?	NMC VII-G-609	
c. 1900	mask	Cowichan?	NMC VII-G-689	

Note: BM - VAN 158 (Feder 1983:52) collected by George Goodman Hewitt on Capt. Georges Vancouver's voyage of 1790-1795; this rattle is decorated with a bird face with peg eyes.

APPENDIX FOUR
SALISH NON-MASK SXWAI XWE OBJECTS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL (3)	COMB (4)	DANCE STAFF (2)
Borden 1983:139, 8.9	BMM 2286	NMC VV-G-689
Carlson 1983:203,11.6	MJ 2	VCM AA 1009
RM R 180-259	XH 1	
	Borden 1983:163	
	(DhRt2)	
FIGURINE (6)	GAVEL (1)	GRAVE FIGURE (12)
MOA A 2353	VCA IN.P.73,N.43	AMNH 16/4693
RM R 512.48		AMNH 16/4694
RM R 548.23		AMNH 16/7075
RM R 548.24		AMNH 31200
VCM AA 670		BMA IV-A-2323
BHS-TAG 1		MAI 5/257
		Pmp 1158
		Pmp 11405
		Pmp 11410
		Pmp 11446a
		Pmp 11446b
		WMHS (Thompson
		1986:12.3)
GRAVE HOUSE (1)	GRAVEYARD MASK (2)	HOUSEPOST (5)
Pmp 1408	Pmp 6020a	AMNH 16/4698
	Pmp 6020b	FMNH 18982
		VCA IN.CVP32,Neg14a
		VCA IN.CVP32,Neg14b
		WSHS (Thompson
		1986:12.1)
MODEL MASK (1)	PRINT (1)	RATTLE HORN (3)
GM AA 302	BCPM 17297	AMNH 20/347
		BMM Van 158
		GM AA 1150
SPOON (1)	STONE ARTIFACT (2)	
NMC VII-G-197	BCPM ER-y-835	
	MOA Dg Rn 10:1	

APPENDIX FIVE - NON-SALISH SXWAIKWE EXAMPLES

KWAKIUTL MASKS:

Kwekwe A (10)	Kwekwe B (3)	Kwekwe C (5)	Kwekwe D (6)
AMNH 19/269	AMNH 16/8382	AMNH 6/9153	BCPM 14857
AMNHneg2838737	MOA A 4095	MAI 6/9153	Burrow & Grabert 1968:23
BCPM 5035	RM R 53.200	MAI 6/9935	MOA A 6216
BMA IV-A-420		WMHA n.d.: 61 top	RM R 2086.2
FMNH 19269		WMHA n.d.: 61 bottom	WMHA 1971:29,2
MOA A7983			WMHA 1971:29,5
MPM 17333			
MPM 17334			
MPM 17335			
RM R2086.1			

Kwekwe E (2)	Salish Silhouette (4)
WMHA (1971:29,3)	AMNH 16/4724
WMHA (1971:29,4)	BMA IV-A-2326
	KM 979.1.90AB
	PHAC 82.1.70

NON-MASK KWEKWE (4)

AMNH 2/8503	pile driver
MOA 8283	carved bowl
JHH 2	house post
Pmp 6464a	wood rattle

NOOTKA MASKS (3)

MOA A 8546	see UBC-SC BC 647 for photo of masks
MOA A 8547	in use
Carter (1968:97)	

Note: Two Xwexwe masks are listed in the B. Holm slide set (VIC 75-C-1, VIC 76-C-1). I have not listed them here because I do not have photographs or descriptions of them sufficient to identify them as to type. I have included them in Appendix One.

APPENDIX SIX
OBJECTS ATTRIBUTED TO AUGUST JACK KHAHTSAHLANO

BCPM 14715 Sxwaixwe mask

IN.CVP.32 Neg 14 House model, 1940's, with two Sxwaixwe
houseposts and two human male houseposts

IN.P.73, Neg 43 Gavel, 1948 with Sxwaixwe carved on side

IN.P.31 a,b,c, Three drawings of Sxwaixwe dancers including
a clown, 1937

MS 1 Sxwaixwe mask, 1927?, curio

RM R 512.2	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.6	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.35	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.36	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.38	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.39	Sxwaixwe mask, curio
RM R 512.46	Sxwaxiwe mask, curio
RM R 512.48	Sxwaixwe figure
RM R 512.49	Sxwaixwe mask, curio

VCM AA 670 Sxwaixwe figure

WSM 2.5/690	Sxwaixwe mask, curio?
WSM 1977-26/1	Sxwaixwe mask

Note: Marion Scott of Marion Scott Ltd, a Vancouver dealer in Northwest Coast art, says that, to her knowledge, August Jack Khahtsahlano carved at least 20 curio masks for sale to non-Natives.

The Glenbow Museum bought out a Vancouver curio and tourist art shop and transferred its contents to its Riveredge collection. It contained a number of Khahtsahlano pieces, not all of which are still in the museum's possession.

APPENDIX SEVEN - PHOTOGRAPHS Listed by Performance

Note: Many archives and museums have copies of the same photographs but list them according to their own systems. I have tried to cross list as many of these photographs as possible. I list the photo archives of the British Columbia Provincial Museum (Pmp numbers) first because this was the largest collection I was able to study. They also had holdings from other major photo collections such as that held at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and the Museum of the American Indian - Heyes Foundation (MAI).

I also studied the photo collections of Dr. Michael Kew (KS), the Vancouver City Archives (VCA), Vancouver Centennial Museum (VCM), the UBC Library Special Collection (UBC-SC), the UBC Museum of Anthropology (MOA), the Vancouver Public Library Historical Photograph Collection (VPL), the Bellingham Public Library (BPL), the Glenbow Museum (GM), the National Archives of Canada (PAC), and the National Museum of Canada (NMC).

The major early photographers for the Salish were:

Mrs. B.M. Cryer		
Frederic Dally		
George T. Emmons		
E.J. Eyres		
Jesse G. Gidley	Duncan, B.C.	1910-1918
G.G. Heye		
Frederick William Hovay	New Westminster	1867-1943
Richard Maynard	Victoria B.C.	18..-1907
Hannah Hatherley Maynard	Victoria B.C.	18..-1918
Mr. Monk		
Dr. C.F. Newcombe		
H.H. Pegler		
Rev. Tate		
Harlan Ingersoll Smith		1872-1940
J.R. & W.W. Wrathall		
A.D. Wood	Duncan B.C.	1910

See Mattison (1985) for a directory of photographers and studios in British Columbia for the period 1858-1900.

1895 MAY 27, SONGHEES RESERVE, VICTORIA:

BCPM	BCPA	UBC-SC	PHOTOGRAPHER
	15784	BC 627	
Pmp 6492A	31889		E.J. Eyres
Pmp 6492B	34391		E.J. Eyres
Pmp 6808			R. Maynard
Pmp 6884			R. Maynard
Pmp 8748			R. Maynard
Pmp 8752			R. Maynard
Pmp 8753			R. Maynard

Notes:

See Lewis (1895:337-344) for an eye-witness account of this potlatch.

E.J. Eyres: Imperial Studio, 76 Yates St., Victoria, B.C.

1898 HARRISON HOT SPRINGS:

VCA

IN.P. 20a,b,c, Two Sxwaixwe dancers and one clown dancer on the grounds of the St. Alice Hotel, Harrison Lake. Bailey Bros. Co. Ltd. Vancouver & Kamloops (photographers).

1902 - 1904 OLD SONGHEES:

BCPM

Pmp 8927

1908 QUAMICHAN / DUNCAN - FUNERAL:

BCPM	BCPA	KS	
Pmp 1386		307	Barnett 1955, P. XVIII
Pmp 5894	15780	306	close up of Pmp 1386

see also: Rev. C.M. Tate diary 1908

1910 - 1913 QUAMICHAN - FUNERAL:

BCPM	KS	PHOTOGRAPHER
Pmp 1464	289	Barnett 1955/1975, Pl.XX
Pmp 1485		Maynard
Pmp 15438		Monk, clown

C.1912 DUNCAN
BCPM

KS NOTES
Barnett 1955/1975,
Pl.XVII
298 Maple Bank 1912, Monk

Pmp 1401
Pmp 6853

1913 QUAMICHAN:

BCPM
Pmp 1464

KS NOTES
289 Barnett 1955/1975,
Pl.XX

1910-1914 QUAMICHAN / DUNCAN - NEW SPIRIT DANCER:

BCPM	UBC-SC	PAC	VCM	KS	NOTES
Pmp 1445					BCPM 16663 mask sold at Christies auction
Pmp 1471					Monk? photo
Pmp 1472	637/1			303	clown, J.C. Gidley
Pmp 1473				1254	clown
Pmp 1474					
Pmp 1475			503	1255	June 1914, Monk (M 382)
Pmp 1476	BC 637/2				J.C. Gidley
Pmp 1478					
Pmp 17041	BC 639/2				A.D. Wood?
Pmp 17042	BC 639/1				post mark Dec 24'08 Nanaimo, B.C., Wood?
			508		Thompstone photo
			510		Thompstone photo
		PA 47367			Monk? (289)
		PA 26895			
		PA 26896			Monk? (284)
				1252	
				1253	
				1256	
				1258	Barnett 1955/1975, Pl.XIX

Note: J.G. Gidley - Gidley Studio, Duncan, B.C.

1928 H.I. SMITH FILM:

NMC
71402
71404

NOTES
stills from the 1928 NFB
film "The Coast Salish"

Sequence shows a Sxwaixwe dancer dressing a mask, dressing himself and dancing while costumed. Dancer is Frank Charles of Musqueam (M. Kew, pers. com. 1987)

1937 AUGUST JACK KHAHTSAHLANO DRAWINGS:

VCA

IN.P.31a,b,c Two 'Swhy-whee' dancers and one 'Quai-nai'
funnyman / clown

1949 MUSQUEAM PRACTICE:

BCPM	UBC-SC	NOTES
Pmp 5877		
Pmp 5878		
Pmp 5879 to		Wilson Duff negatives
Pmp 6267		
	A-80	H. Hawthorn and students
	A-81	including Wilson Duff
	A-83	photographed a practice
	A-85	session of four dancers
	A-295	on the Musqueam reserve

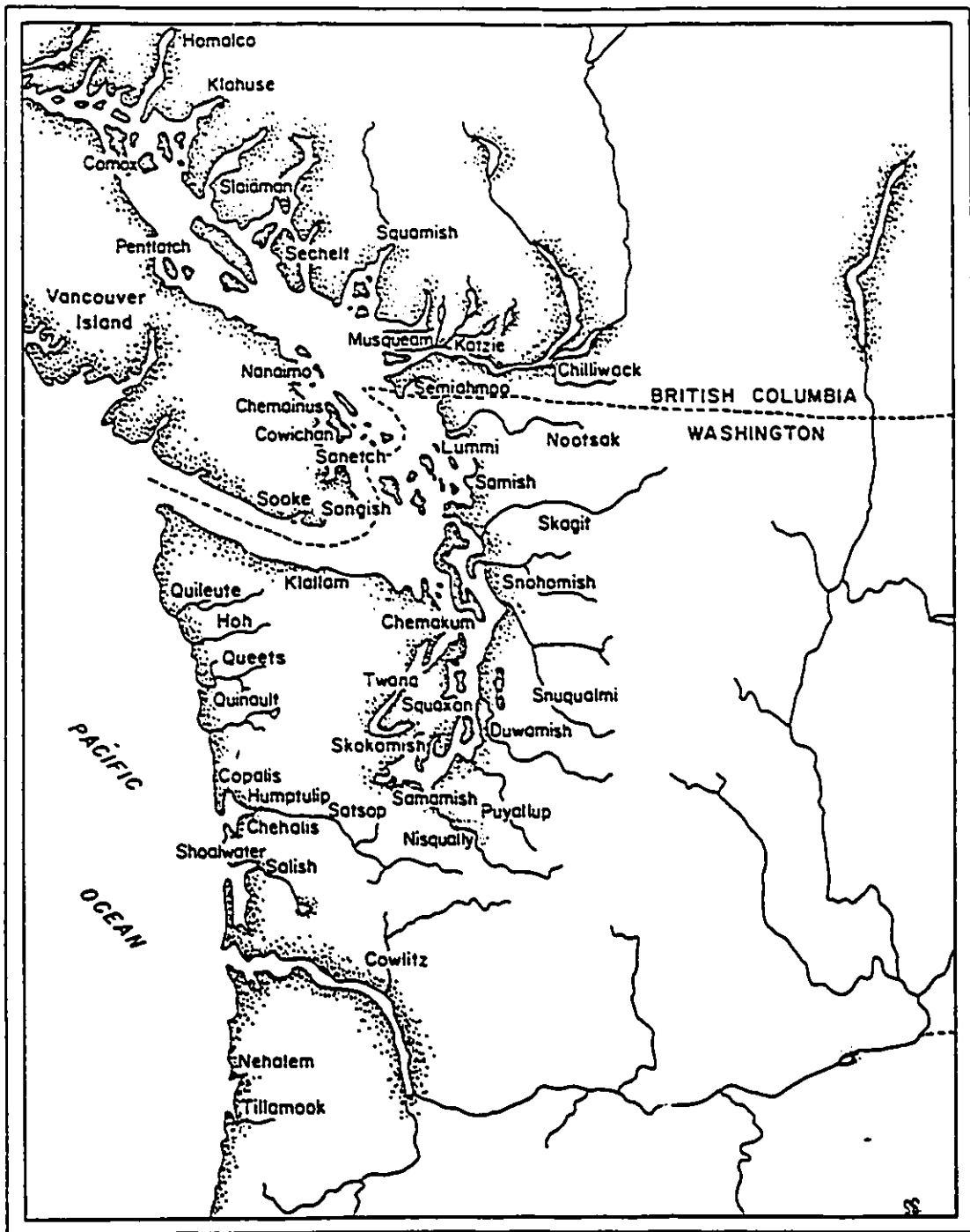
c.1978 MUSQUEAM - JILEK (1982:96):

Fig. 29	Set of five photographs of Sxwaixwe dancers
Fig. 30	performing at a naming ceremony on the Musqueam
Fig. 31	reserve. Photos taken by W.G. Jilek in 1978.
Fig. 32	
Fig. 33	

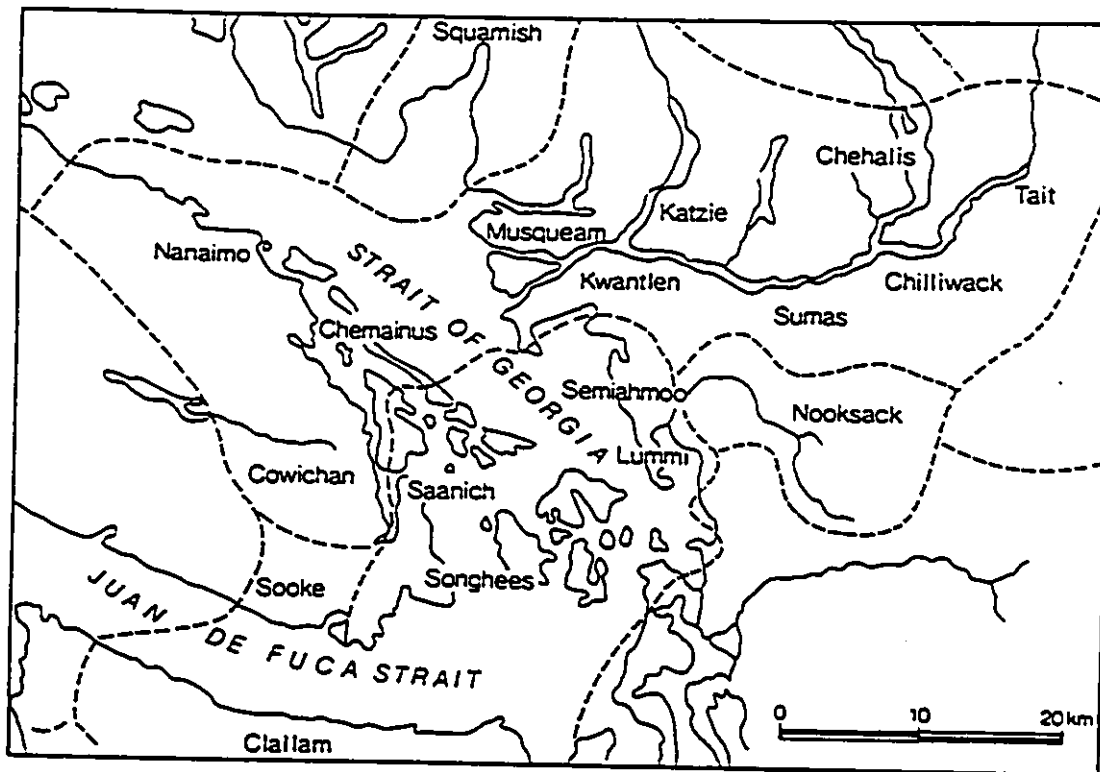
APPENDIX EIGHT - LEXICON
Some Alternate Spellings of Sxwaixwe

Qa'egoe	Wingert 1949a/1969
Quai-quai	PmP notes
Schwy-why	Emmons n.d.
Scwaixwe	BCPM accession notes
Skhaikhwey	Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum
Skhway khwey	Hawthorn 1956, Ashwell 1978
Skhioawhy	ROM accession notes
Skway-whay	Wingert 1949a/1969
Skwiykway	Wells 1987
Skwiy-kway	Wells 1987
Slahwaikhway	Whatcom Museum of History and Art
Sqacqoc	Field Museum of Natural History catalogue notes
Sqo'aegoe	Wingert 1949a/1968
Sqi-sqi	BCPM photo
Squiaqi	Hill-Tout 1904
Swaihwe	Barnett 1955/1975, Levi-Strauss 1982, Wingert 1949a/1969
Swaiswe	UBC MOA Photos
Swaiwe	Paterson 1973
Swaixwe	Feder 1971, Jilek 1982, Wingert 1949a/1969, NMC catalogue notes
Swhoi Swhoy	VCA P.In.20, J.S. Matthews
Sxi-sxi	MAI catalogue notes
Sxwaixwai	NMC catalogue notes
Sxwaixway	UBC MOA Photos
Sxwaixwe	Reid 1988
Sxwaixwe	B. Holm slide set
Sxwayxwey	MacNair et al 1980, BCPM catalogue notes, Bierwert 1987
Sxwayxwi	Wells 1987
Sxwexwe	B. Holm slide set
S'xwi-wai	MAI catalogue notes
Sxwoxivine	BCPM catalogue notes
Sxwoiyxweyle	Wells 1987
Sxwoyxwey	Wells 1987
Swy-whee	PmP notes
Szwayxwey	Suttles 1983:79
Whoi Whoi	VCA P.In.20, J.S. Matthews
Xa'egoe	Boas 1888
Xai-xai	MAI catalogue notes, Pmp catalogue notes
Xoa xoa	BCPM catalogue notes
Xoaexoae	Dockstader 1966
Xoa'exoe	Boas 1897
Xoaexoe	AMNH catalogue notes
Xoae'xoe	Wingert 1949a/1969
Xwaixwai	Wingert 1949a/1969
Xwayxway	Kennedy & Bouchard 1983
Xwexwe	Levi-Strauss 1982

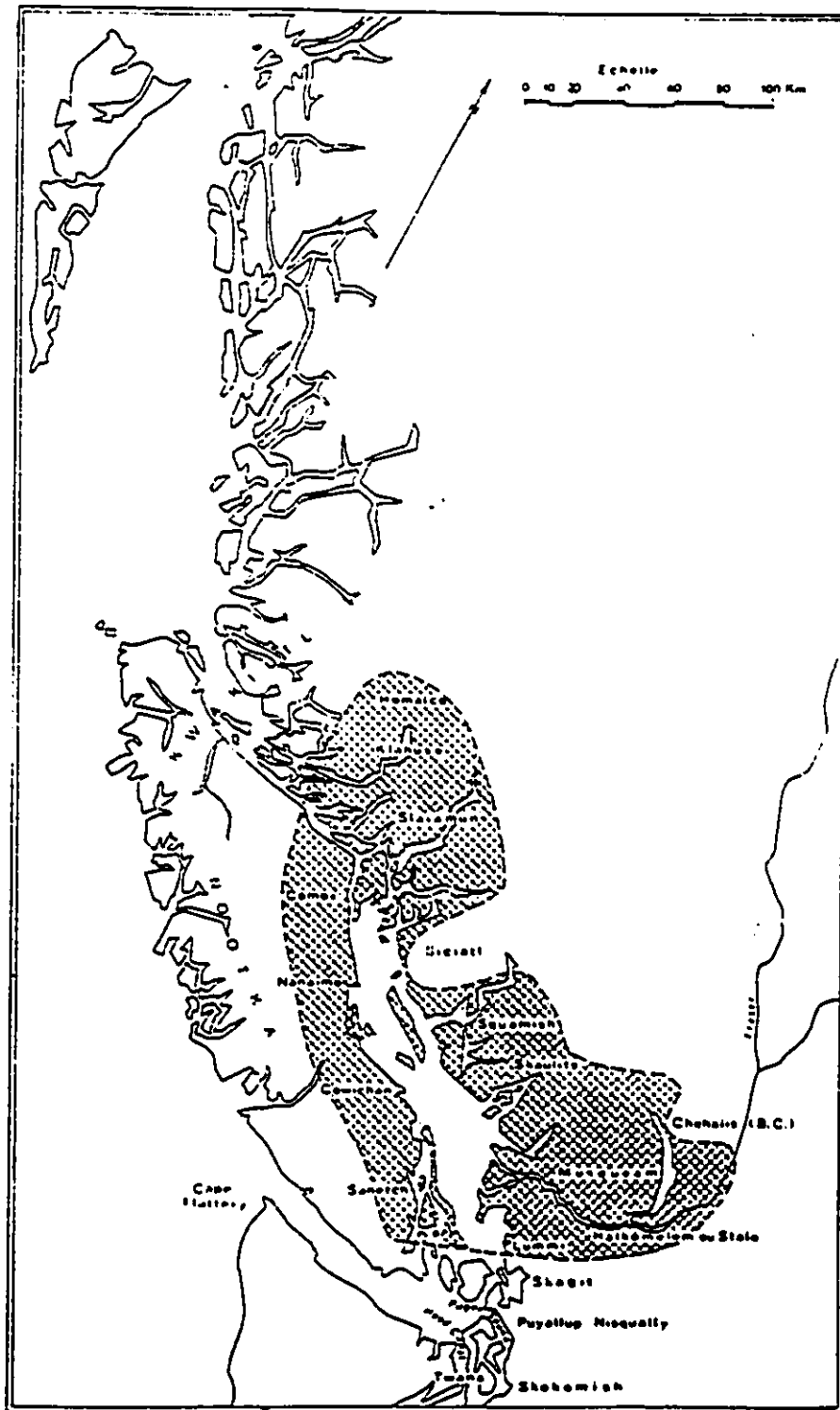
Note: I have made no attempt in this list to differentiate between Sxwaixwe and Kwekwe as to cultural group since most of the authors cited do not seem to either. Nevertheless, I have, in my text, systematically used SXWAIXWE for Salish and KWEKWE for non Salish. I am also using the spellings standardized at the UBC Museum of Anthropology c.1980.



Map 1.



Map 2.



Map 3.

Names of Masks by Source

Source	Names	beaver	sawbill	raven	owl	ghost	bear	clown	eagle	thunderbird	spring salmon	thunder	mink	snake	2-headed snake	wolf	sk'w'ane'loc	buzzard	ducks	1/2 sxwaixwe	fish hawk	coon	etc.
Boas 1889:324		x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Emmons n.d. in Suttles 1982:60		-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barnett 1939:293		x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
Duff 1952b:125 (Musqueam)		x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x ⁺	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barnett 1955/1975:158 (Sanetch)		x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenness 1955/1979:12 (Katzie)		-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenness 1955/1979:72 (Musqueam)		-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenness 1955/1979:91 (Saanich pen.)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenness 1955/1979:91-2 (Nanaïmo)		x	x	x	x ⁺	-	-	-	-	-	x-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Suttles 1974:409 (Lummi)		x	x ⁱ	x	-	-	-	x ^c	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Suttles 1982:60		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x ⁰	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suttles 1982 (Older Halkomelem)		x	x	x	-	x ⁺	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suttles 1983		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Totals		9	9	10	5	4	3	4	5	3	5	4	3	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
					9	7	8								9								

22 names
 13 lists
 sk'w'ane'loc = fish spirit
 x⁺ "serpent"
 x⁰ thunderbird may = eagle
 x⁺ ghost = screech owl, corpse
 x⁺ night owl
 xⁱ merganser
 x^c clown who appeared as a bear

Chart 2

Names and Localities

Localities	Masks	beaver	sawbill	raven	owl	ghost	bear	clown	eagle	thunderbird	spring salmon	thunder	mink	snake	2-headed snake	wolf	skwəne'lec	buzzard	fish hawk	coon	1/2 sxwaixwe	TOTALS
Katzie		-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Old Halkomelem		x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Musqueam		x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Sanetch		x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Saanich Peninsula		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	3
Nanaimo		x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	6
Lummi		x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	8
Unspecified		-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	4

Notes:

- Owl and ghost are mutually exclusive terms.
- Eagle and thunderbird are mutually exclusive terms.
- Snake and 2-headed snake are mutually exclusive terms.

MASKS	Cranium								Ears								Nose										
Accession #'s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Sawbill																											
AMNH 16.1/1871		x		x				x				x					x								x		
MAI 18/1062		x		x				x				x					x								x		
MOA A6474		x		x				x				x					x								x		
MAI 18/1063		x		x				x								x		x							x		
AMNH 16/9222		x	x					x	x								x								x		
NMF 45-5424		x	x					x	x								x								x		
Raven																											
BMM 4928			x	x				x						x			x										
BCPM 2364	x				x			x						x			x										
FMNH 85480	x				x			x						x			x										
BMA IV-A-2325		x	x					x	x								x										
MOA A 6811		x	x					x	x								x										
NMC VII G654		x	x					x	x								x										
JH 1		x		x				x								x		x									
Eagle																											
AMNH 16/4662	x			x				x					x				x								x		
MAI 18/8819	?		?				x	x					x				x								?		?
MJ 1				x	x			x					x				x								x		
Ghost																											
MOA A 6116				x	x			x							x			x		x							
ROM 2796				x	x			x							x			x		x							
Beaver																											
MAI 16/2080				x	x			x					x					x		x							
ROM 2796				x	x			x					x					x		x							
Snake																											
MOA A6473		x	x					x		x						x									x		
ROM 935.29.3		x	x					x		x						x									x		
Mink																											
McM - S 137		x	x					x		x						x									x		
NMC VII G 335		x	x					x		?						x									x		
NMC VII G 609		x		x				x		x						x									x		
Clown																											
MOA A 6475				x	x	x												x									
Comox Masks																											
AMNH 16/4724			x	x				x		x						x											?
BMA IV-A-2326	x			x				x							x	?		?									

[illegible]

Chart 3. Componential Analysis of Masks

[illegible]

CHART THREE - COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS OF MASKS

CRANIUM

1. rectangular
2. oval
3. horizontal
4. egg shape

EARS

6. absent
7. one
8. two
9. beast: type 1
10. beast: type 2
11. (omit)
12. bird: type 1
13. bird: type 2
14. bird: type 3
15. bird: type 4

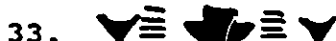
NOSE

16. facing up
17. facing down
18. triangular
19. nostrils: separate
20. nostrils: joined
21. beast: type 1
22. beast: type 2
23. beast: type 3
24. bird: type 1
25. bird: type 2
26. bird: type 3
27. bird: type 4
28. bird: type 5

BROW

29. concentric circles ©

30. spiral ©



CHEEKS

- 38.
39. «laugh lines»
- 40.
- 41.
- 42.
- 43.



44. horizontal stripes

PAWS

45. from nose

EYE SOCKETS

46. round
47. oval
48. lenticular
49. downtilt
50. straight
51. separate
52. merging
53. connected
54. same as brow

PUPILS/PEGS

55. missing
56. short relative to plane of mask
57. long relative to ...
58. straight out
59. diverging (matter of degree)
60. added painted iris

EYE LIDS

61. absent
62. circular
63. lenticular
64. downtilt

- 65. straight
- 66. double

UPPER JAW

- 67. undefined
- 68. ridge plain
- 69. ridge carved

- 70. ridge painted

- 71. incisors
- 72. nose bird mouth

LOWER JAW

- 73. lenght - equal to face
- 74. lenght - longer
- 75. lenght - shorter
- 76. sides - straight
- 77. sides - wider
- 78. sides - narrower
- 79. plane - flat
- 80. plane - curved back
- 81. bottom edge not straight

COLOURS

- 82. number used
- 83. black
- 84. blue
- 85. white
- 86. red
- 87. other
- 88. not discernable
- 89. not painted

28 masks
91 components

Diagnostic Flowchart
Masks
Halkomalen Ssuwaigwe
prior to 1910

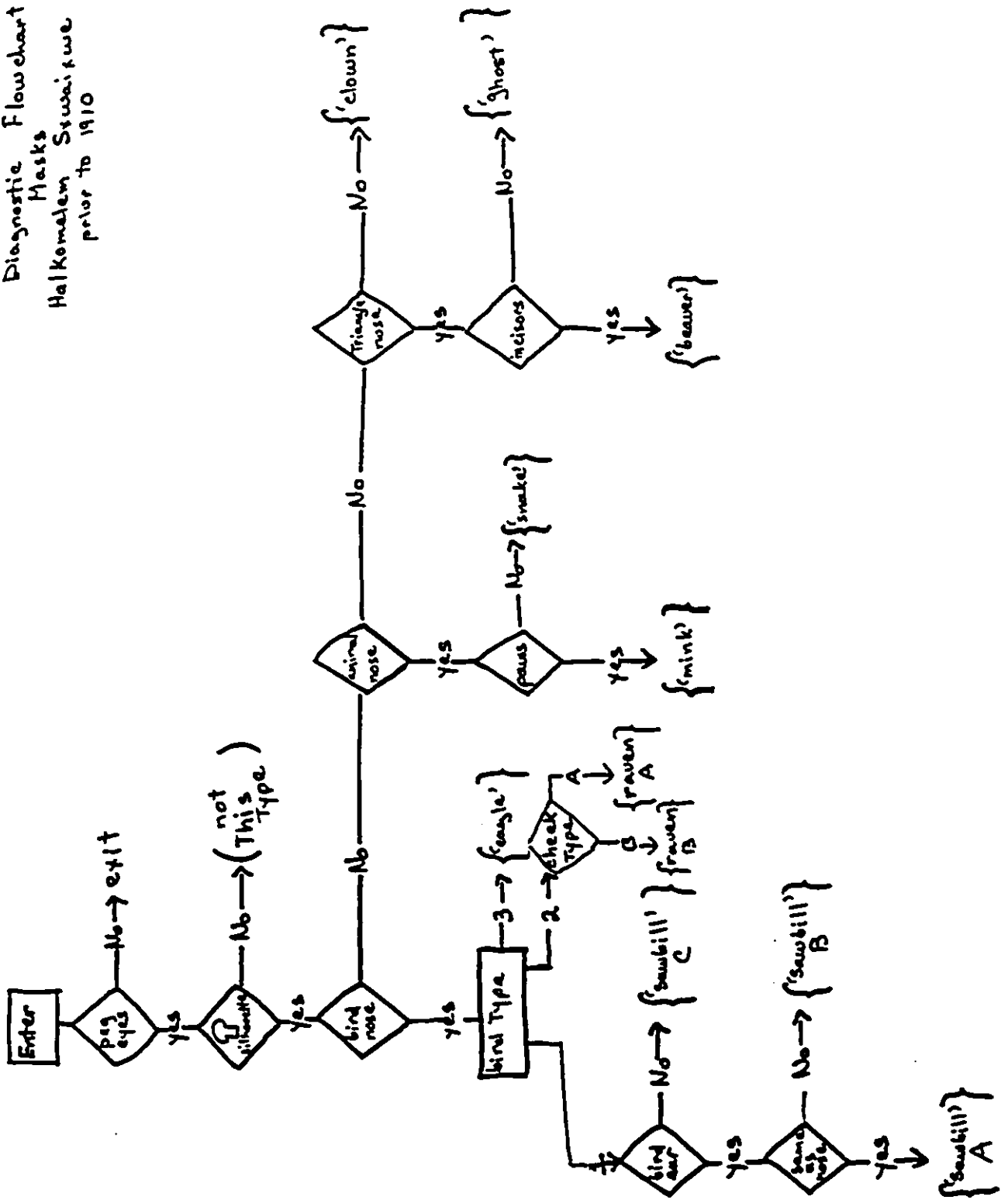


Chart 4.

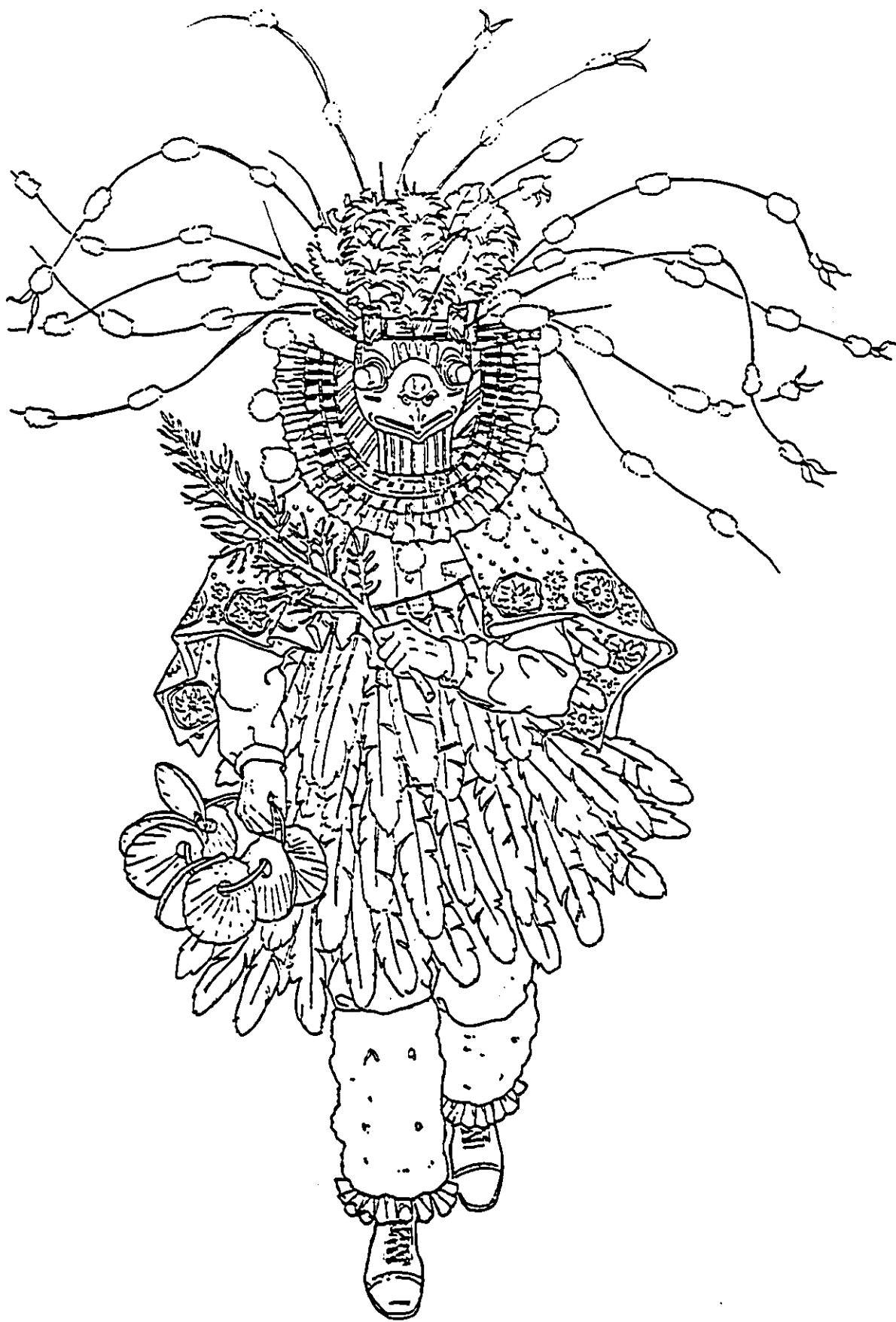


Fig 2

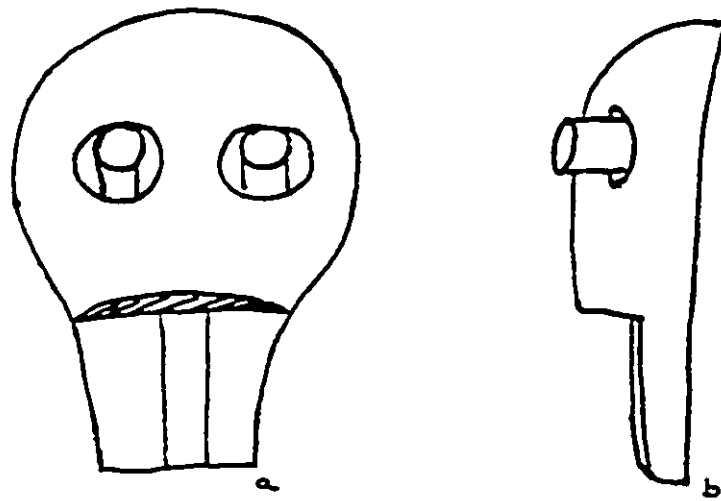


Fig 1



Fig 3

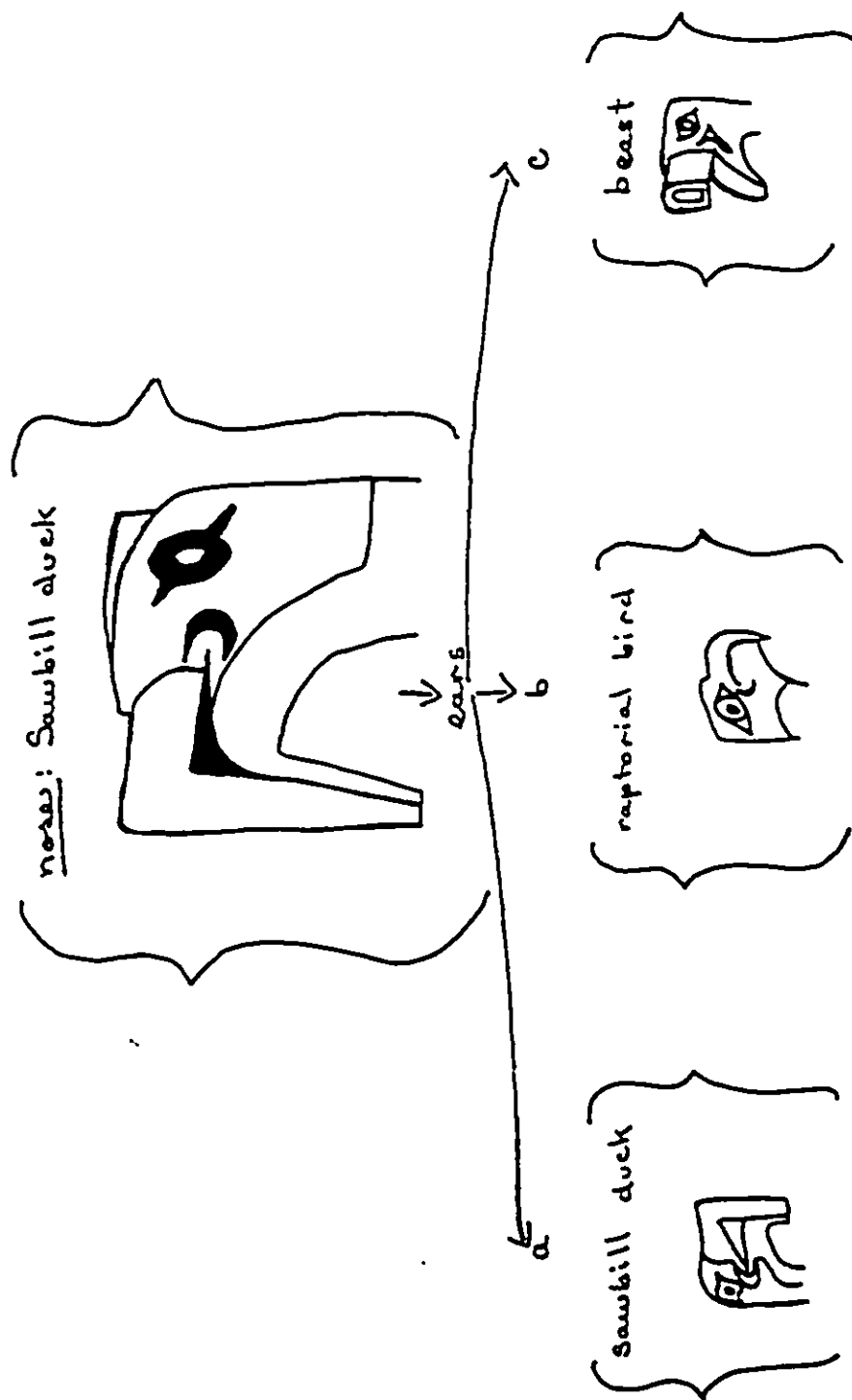


Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6

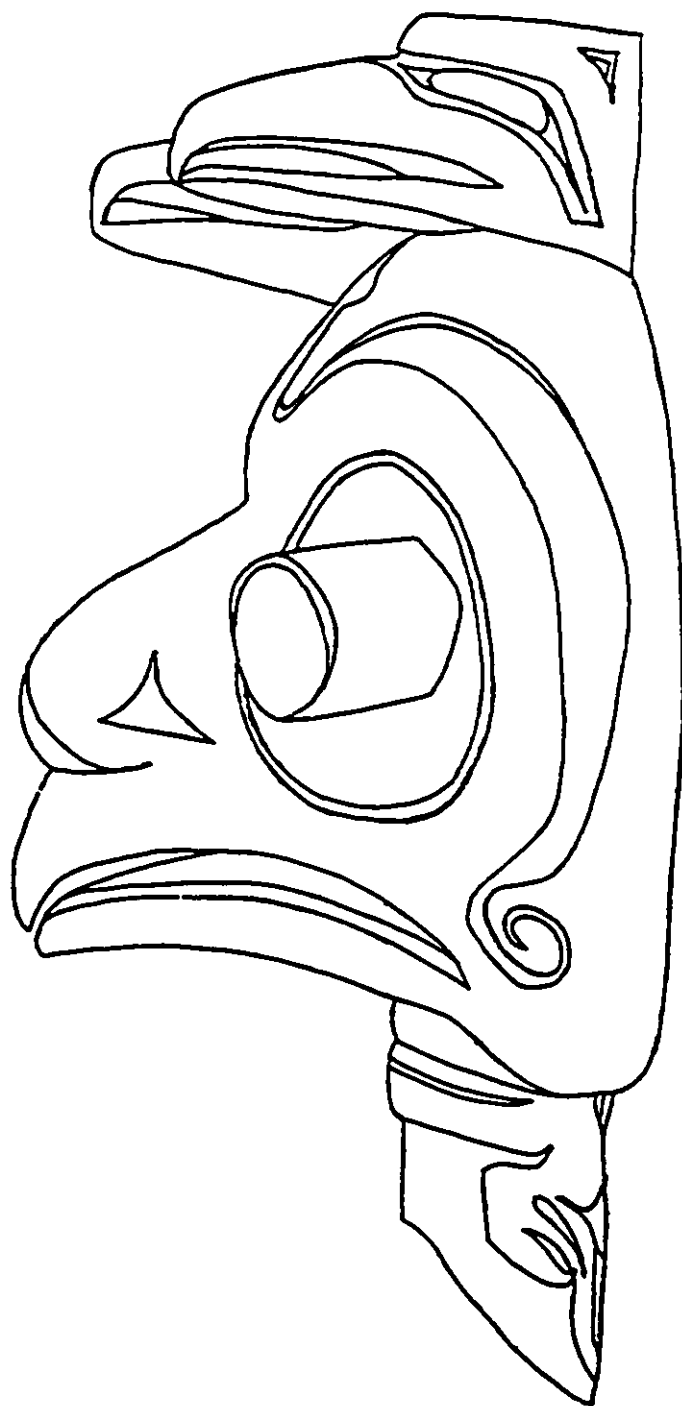


Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 9



Fig 10

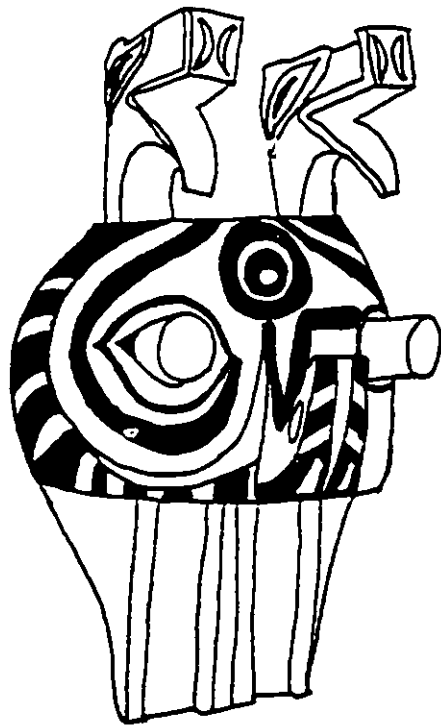


Fig 11

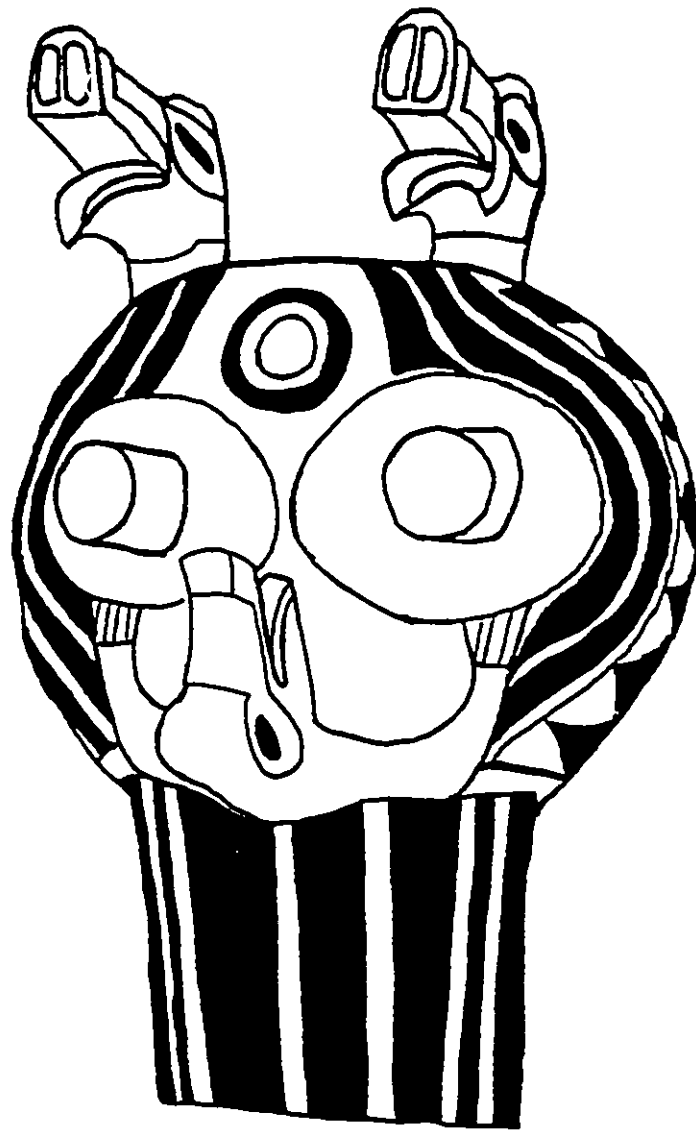


Fig 12



Fig 13



Fig 14



Fig 15



Fig. 16

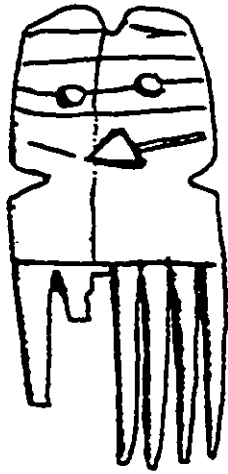


Fig 17



Fig 18

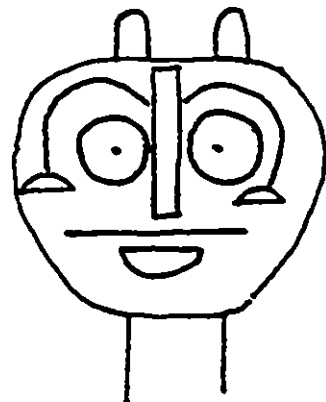
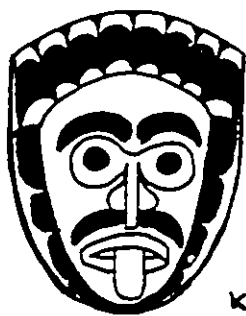


Fig 19



Kwekwe B



Kwekwe A



Kwekwe D

Fig 20

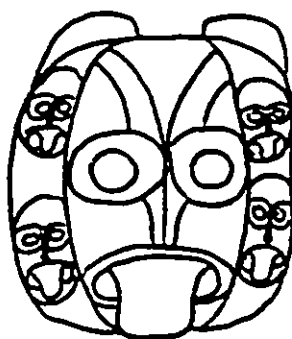


Fig 21



Fig 22

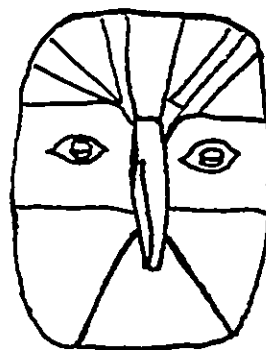
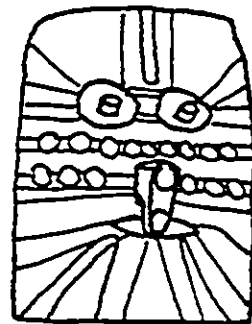
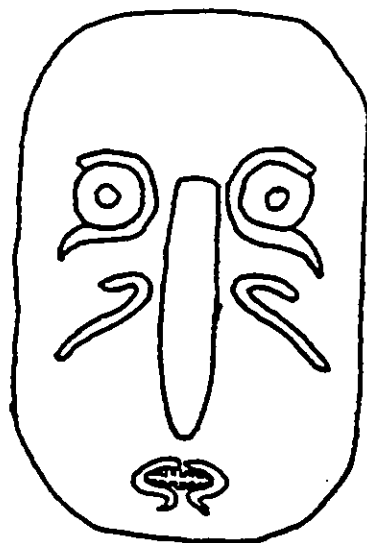


Fig 23



Fig 24

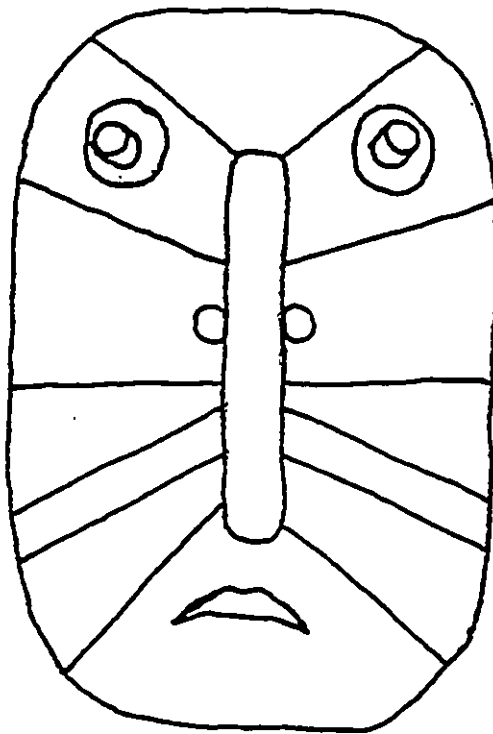


Fig 25